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आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

—*Rigveda*, I-89-i

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

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23

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

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THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

BY

Dr. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI



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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulses of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books, 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once. Each book was to contain from 200 to 250 pages and was to be priced at Rs. 1-12-0.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit:

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which could allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the

instrument of God, and is able to see Him all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata* summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it; the *Gita* by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata*: "What is not in it, is nowhere". After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought of human problems that is hard to rival; but above all, it has for its core the *Gita* which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax

is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

K. M. MUNSHI

1, QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
3rd October, 1951.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS brochure is based on an article which I contributed to the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* in January, 1909. In its present form it was delivered as an address to the Calcutta University Institute in March last under the presidency of Sir Gooroodass Banerji, Kt., M.A., D.L., Ph.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University; and it was reproduced in the pages of *The Modern Review* for April. It is now published with several additions and alterations.

In this work I have not dwelt upon the important evidence of the fundamental unity of India furnished by the social and religious institutions of the country, but have confined my attention mainly to its geographical basis.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., King George V Professor of Philosophy of the Calcutta University, for many valuable suggestions I received from him.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Hon. Maharaja Late Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar for the generous support he has accorded to me in the preparation of this work.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

BERHAMPUR (BENGAL)

August, 1913.

INTRODUCTION

By Right Hon. J. Ramsay Macdonald

DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI has honoured me by asking me to write an introduction to his interesting book. To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a school native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Dr. Mookerji's books need no introduction, especially since he published his *History of Indian Shipping*.

In this little book he attempts to lay the only foundation upon which an Indian Historical School can rest. If India is a mere geographical expression, a mere collection of separate peoples, traditions, and tongues existing side by side but with no sense of nationhood in common, Indian history cannot be the record of an evolution of a civilization—it can be nothing more than an account of raids, conflicts, relations of conquerors and conquered. That this is the common view is only too true; that a superficial view of India lends all its weight to that view is only too apparent; that it is the view of many of the present governors is proclaimed without secrecy from Ceylon to Afghanistan.

Those who read this book will find that there is another view, and that the Hindu, at any rate, from his traditions and his religion, regards India not only as a political unit naturally the subject of one sovereignty—whoever holds that sovereignty, whether

British, Mohammedan, or Hindu—but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul. Nationality is at best a difficult thing to define, to test and establish. The barren controversies on the subject to which the demands of Ireland for Home Rule have led, prove that. But the Aryan settled it decisively so far as India and himself are concerned. He made India the symbol of his culture; he filled it with his soul. In his consciousness it was his greater self. How he did it Dr. Mookerji shows in his interesting chapters.

Dr. Mookerji writes only of history, but it is a history which we read with political thoughts in our mind. It is this history quickened into life which is giving us our Indian political problems. What share has the Mohammedan in it? Perhaps much greater than we think. The *Pax Britannica* does not merely shelter weak men; it is also a shade under which liberal political ideas take root and flourish. And nationalism cannot be dissociated from liberal political ideas. To amplify and discuss this would be out of place here, and Dr. Mookerji would not wish me to use the privileges of an introduction to widen until it passes into current political controversy the historical field of his study. But these thoughts have been in my mind as they will no doubt be in that of everyone who reads this book, and I have been anxious to indicate that in my opinion, at any rate, the unity of India will not remain exclusively a Hindu conception, although its origin may be in Hindu culture.

Many people imagine that this Indian nationhood

is only a disturbing element in politics. But that is a mistake. It is a reviving influence on culture. Indeed, in some respects, its political expressions are its crudest and most ill-formed embodiments. We have it best — if, as yet, in no very great volume — in art and literature. In art, as in education, we have been proclaiming, in our vanity, that India had to learn the Western tone and touch, with the result that Indian art has been debased and every spontaneous thought crushed out of it. But life returned through the nationalist revival. Nothing has ever struck me with more force than the contrast between the ugly daubs which compose an art exhibition in India held under Western auspices and the product of Western “inspiration” on the one hand, and the beautiful harmonies of form and colour which the Indian Art Society brings together on the other. And it is interesting to note how in this art the spirit of India is not merely Hindu. Tagore’s great painting “The Death of Shah Jehan,” is as essentially Persian as his “Spirit of India” is Hindu. Moreover, in literature, are we not at present in the midst of a “Gitanjali” puja—all unconscious that it is the refined expression of Indian nationalism? Finally, there are the students of intellectual culture with whom Dr. Mookerji himself co-operates, gathering together the scattered records of Indian achievement so that they may be known and due homage paid to the people who accomplished them. Thus India awakes anew to a sense of independence and self-respect, and only by such an awakening can she contribute her share to the culture of the world.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS book was first published in London as far back as 1914 (and written a little earlier) in anticipation of the later developments which led up to the division of India in 1947 into two separate States, though there was the compensating advantage that each State would be created into an independent sovereign State as a result of the division. The thesis of the work was endorsed by the late British Labour Leader, the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, by contributing to it his learned Foreword.

This division of India was dictated mainly by the consideration that it would render each State a more homogeneous entity by reducing the strength of its minority and thereby ensuring in a greater degree the conditions of internal peace and concord. But even then it is physically impossible in these days so as to plan that each State should be composed of one community. In fact, a territorial separation of communities is no solution of the communal problem. The communal problem will follow such separation into all the new States to be created by separation. No State can ever be a homogeneous social composition made up of only one community. It is bound to be made up of different communities, one of which must necessarily be the majority. Political and national frontiers do not coincide with racial, religious or social frontiers. Such coincidence is getting more and more difficult in these days of easy, free

and speedy intercourse and communication between Nations and Peoples and the expanding facilities for emigration, colonization and settlement. The best solution of the minority problem is thus not to create States on the basis of their majorities but to recognize their minorities by granting to them their cultural autonomy so as to preserve their integrity as separate groups and respect their vital points of difference with the majority. It is to be remembered that the minority can differ from the majority only in regard to their racial, religious or linguistic interests but in the wider sphere not covered by these, there can be no difference between the Minority and the Majority who must take their place as nationals of the same State, bound in ties of common citizenship. This plan of reconciling the minority to the rule of the majority in a comprehensive political system is now universally applied in all democracies. The best example of this system is the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. by which the U.S.S.R. as a multi-national State has been able to bring together under one Federation as many as 180 different nationalities by giving to each its free and full scope to preserve and promote its integrity, individuality and independence, subject to the common Soviet citizenship as the larger loyalty transcending the narrow provincial or sectional loyalties. Accordingly Joseph Stalin proudly declared: "I believe that now, after the overthrow of Tsarism, nine-tenths of our people will not desire secession". To such a synthetic scheme both India and Pakistan stand committed.

At the same time, these two separate States will find it to their advantage to emphasize some

of their underlying unities by which the economic and other evils of separation can be overcome in the interests of general welfare, instead of cultivating further the spirit of separatism. Indeed, when the entire mankind is seeking to think in terms of larger and larger political association and even of One World based upon the vital unity of the human race and to cultivate cosmopolitan outlook and international mind as the subjective or psychological condition of that consummation, it is prejudicial to the progress of humanity to create new fields of division in a narrow spirit of nationalism. Besides, the two parts of India which had remained together through centuries as parts of undivided India as an integral unity have inevitably developed certain ideology, outlook and traditions inspired by Nature and reinforced by History and their accumulated momentum will not yield to a stroke of politics. Political and administrative division need not affect the whole of life and the entire range of its interests. It has its own limits within which it will operate. In a sense, India has never been a well-organized political unit under the government of a single State. Even British India was only a part of India and did not comprehend the whole of it which was split up into about 600 States, large and small, but separate and independent as autonomous entities. No doubt, the greatest gift of British rule in India has been its political unification under a paramount power which was able to impose its supreme authority upon all the States in regard to their defence, external relations, foreign policy and certain economic interests of common concern to the whole of India.

The establishment of Pakistan as a completely sovereign and independent State in certain definite and clearly demarcated parts of India has, on the other hand, given a new impetus in the rest of the country to a contrary and compensating process of unification as a reaction against India's division. Within two years of its start, Free India has been able to incorporate into its body-politic and federal system nearly all of these 600 separate States in indissoluble ties of an organic, integral union and bring them together under a common Federal Government. Indeed, the merging in India of this vast number of historically separate States is not merely calculated to make a new history of India but has also made ample compensation for the loss of her original territory, due to partition and Pakistan, by new accession of extensive territory, and, with it, of revenue and rich resources.

Though the division of India into two separate States is now an accomplished fact, it should not, as already stated, affect all aspects of life in both the States, specially in economic, cultural and religious spheres. No one can deny that India has been marked out by Nature as an indisputable geographical unit, clearly separated from the rest of Asia by outstanding natural boundaries, the mountains of the North and seas of the South.

And even deep down this patent geographical unity, there lies an underlying unity founded on the rocks of ages. These rocks are the sources of India's mineral wealth. They are not affected by the artificial divisions of the country on the surface, which are dictated by merely political considerations. They have built up with vengeance, below that surface, a

deeper and inviolable unity expressing itself in a continuous and continental subterranean expanse underlying and embracing within its comprehensive group the geographical areas of different States in utter defiance of the artificial boundaries which divide them above. India's geographical unity thus laid broad and deep in the rocky foundations of her geological structure mocks at human design for its division which does not rest on any natural or physical grounds.

To take an example, the best of India's coal, and more than 98% of her total output of coal on which depends so largely the economic prosperity and industrial development of the country are found in the Gondwana rocks concentrated in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Then there are the great coal-fields of the Godavari valley continuing through Hyderabad and Madras up to the sea at Cocanada. Practically, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have the monopoly of coal both in quantity and quality.

Indeed, Nature has built up the whole country, including Pakistan, as a unified region throughout which have been distributed its valuable mineral resources so as to render all its different parts mutually dependent for purposes of their proper economic development. In the modern world, industrial power rests on the triple resources of coal, iron and oil. In the present steel age, industry depends on coal and iron which must be found in combination. Oil is not as essential in the production of steel.

Next to coal and iron, manganese and chromium are important for industrial power as sources of alloys required in making high-grade steel. Their ores are found mostly in the Madhya Pradesh and in

lesser quantities in Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa and Mysore. India's gold supply comes from the Kolar district in Mysore and also from the Anantapur district of Madras. The Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and Bihar are very rich in bauxite as a source of aluminium. Copper is the monopoly of the Singhbhum district in Bihar. More than 85% of India's salt comes from the composition of sea-water in Bombay and Madras and of lake-water in Rajputana. Madras has the monopoly in magnesite which is used as a refractory in certain cements and also as a source of magnesium.

It will appear that the material resources of India undivided are so divided and distributed among its different parts that they must hold on together and remain united as far as possible in a common economic system which can promote the prosperity of each to the full extent of its potentialities. The call of industrial progress promoting the greatest good of the greatest number is a call for unity in the midst of political and administrative divisions. The financial call for unity is no less imperative in the way of obtaining foreign capital and import on cheapest terms.

The political division of India cannot obliterate certain national and historical memories on both sides of the division. It cannot wipe out the life and history of centuries. How can the Moslems of Pakistan, though politically divided from the rest of India under a separate State of their own, break the ties that bind them to the many mosques and mausoleums left behind and located in different parts of India? How can they help offering their accustomed worship at their famous Darga at Ajmer and such unique monu-

ments of Islam like the Jumma Masjid at Delhi or Taj Mahal at Agra which also as architectural masterpieces are unrivalled in the world? How can they eliminate from their national mind the many memories of some of their empire-builders like Akbar and Shah Jehan as perpetuated in secular monuments like Fatehpur Sikri and other places at Agra and Delhi.

Similarly, so far as the Hindus are concerned, they are bound by indissoluble ties with numerous holy spots and shrines remaining in Pakistan as its permanent fixtures which make Pakistan sacred like the rest of the country. It is the sacred soil of Pakistan that is associated with a large number of hymns making up their primary religious book, the *Rig-Veda*. On the banks of many of its rivers which still pour down in bounty their streams of plenty, were sung many a hymn revealed by their respective *Rishis* or Seers of the *Rig-Veda*.

The *Rig-Veda* knows of the river Kabul as *Kubha*, the river Kurru as *Krumu* and the river Gomati as *Gomati*. The region known by its modern name as Swat is called Suvastu: the Land of Prosperous Settlement in the *Rig-Veda*. The entire territory comprising Afghanistan and the Punjab is known in the Vedas as the land of the *Sapta-Sindhavah* or Seven Rivers which have been taken to be the rivers Kubha (Kabul), Sindhu (Indus), Vitasta (Jhelam), Asikni (Chenab), Parushni (Ravi), Vipas (Beas) and Sutudru (Sutlej). Some are even disposed to include among these, rivers like the remote river Oxus (Bakshu=Rasa). The famous River-Hymn of the *Rig-Veda* mentions as many as ten sacred rivers to whose fertilizing waters the country owes so much of its economic development so as to deserve the

nation's homage and worship. These traverse the entire territory embracing the several States of East Punjab, West Punjab and North Western Frontier Province. These are enumerated in the order of their location from east to west: Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutudru (Sutlej), Parushmi (Ravi), Marudvridha (the combined courses of the Chenab and Jhelam), Asikni (Chenab), Vitasta (Jhelum), Arjikiya (the Vipas—Beas) and Sushoma (Indus). Even Sind, now a most important province in the state of Pakistan, is a specially sacred land of Indians, as the cradle of their civilization and religion, abounding in rich memories of a glorious past brought to light by the antiquities unearthed by archaeological excavations at ancient sites like Mohenjo-daro and several others discovered to the west of the Indus upto Baluchistan. These antiquities demonstrate that the Indus civilization was the earliest in the world and was sustained by the most valuable food of man *viz.*, wheat which was first grown in the highlands of Afghanistan and the Punjab whence it spread through west and also that the wheat found at Mohenjo-daro is the ancestor of modern wheat which is the staple food of the Punjab and West Pakistan. Other antiquities show that Sind was the very origin of Hindu religion in the worship of Shiva as its earlier phase and also in the practice of the higher religion of yoga or the system of the training of the mind in the concentrated contemplation of the Divine. Thus Sind cannot but remain as a permanently holy place for all Indians for its outstanding historical and religious associations. Similarly, no Hindu can ever wipe out from his memory what his culture owes to the sacred city of

Takshasila (Taxila) of the *Mahabharata* associated with the sacred name of King Parikshit and as the place of the sacrifice of Janamejaya where the *Mahabharata* itself was first recited by Rishi Vaishampayana.

Similarly, in later times, Buddhism along with Brahminism, forged fresh links of cultural connection between India, Pakistan and Afghanistan and Central Asia, in its numerous monuments, stupas, shrines and viharas distributed throughout these regions. These were seen on their way to India by Chinese pilgrims like Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang and are traceable to this day in their remains unearthed by archaeological excavations and by explorers like Sir Aurel Stein.

It is to be hoped that the two new States will respect, preserve and promote these deeper unities in the life of their people without emphasizing their differences which are comparatively superficial and confined only to politics, for politics does not exhaust the totality of life's interests. The field of culture is much wider and reconciles differences in a comprehensive synthesis. Indeed, the pilgrims belonging to different sects or creeds like Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism whose sacred places, mosques, shrines and gurdwaras are distributed throughout this wide area from Afghanistan up to Ceylon, should be afforded every encouragement by the different States controlling that area for visiting them and spreading their beneficent and unifying influence in creating a sense and spirit of universal brotherhood.

Within India proper, its citizens should regard it as a religious duty to promote its own unities for the cultivation of a cosmopolitan all-India outlook, to

subdue a narrow spirit of localism and provincialism which threatens to be one of the greatest obstacles to the growth of India as a strong national State.

In the cultivation of this wide spiritual outlook, it is fortunate that a Hindu can draw his inspiration from his sacred scriptures. These help him to worship Mother India in her visible form presented in so many ways and meditate on her *Virata-Deha* in all its majesty and magnificence by uttering the preliminary purificatory *mantra*:

*"Gange cha Yamunechaiva Godavari Sarasvati,
Narmade Sindhu Kaveri jalesmin sannidhim
kuru".*

The worship of *Deshamatrika* is a part of Hindu religion and its texts and prayers are not subject to politics. Spirit must triumph over matter. Thought is catholic and cosmopolitan. Mankind must invoke all aids to the cultivation of the spirit of Universal Brotherhood.

New Delhi,
April, 1954.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

THE ARGUMENT

I. *The Primary factor of Nationality is the possession of a common country—a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development—the formation of an Indian nation must wait on the realisation by the Indians of the whole of India as their common mother country, claiming their loyalty and service.*

II. *But is India a single country? Difference of opinion among European and Anglo-Indian scholars.*

III. *The geographical unity of India is easily missed in her immensity and variety, on account of India's vastness and variety, (the variety) only contributes to her wealth and strength and economic self-sufficiency.*

IV. *To superficial observation the whole is lost in the parts—the fundamental unity of India is, however, acknowledged by many competent authorities.*

V. *But this unity is generally traced to the influence of British rule in India—it has really a long history, and has been an element in the historic consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age—the oldest expression of this unity was the name Bharatavarsha, which the ancient Hindus applied to India—the full significance of the name indicating the Aryanisation of India.*

VI-VII. *Further expressions of the old Hindu consciousness of Indian geographical unity in the Vedic and subsequent literature—the river-hymn of the ‘Rig-Veda’ and its epic adaptation with expanding geographical horizon—other later hymns which have passed into national daily prayers—their effects on popular consciousness in awakening it to a sense of the individuality and sacredness of the whole of India from end to end.*

VIII. *The feeling for the fatherland finds frequent expression in Sanskrit literature.*

IX. *A permanent and characteristically Indian expression of this feeling is in the network of shrines and sacred places by which the country has been covered—the institution of pilgrimage as an expression of love for the motherland, of appreciation of Art and Nature—pilgrimage as a means of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the country in olden times before the era of modern travelling facilities—the lists of Hindu holy places in Sanskrit literature show complete familiarity with every part of India.*

X. *Corresponding to the Hindu expression of love for the motherland is the Buddhist expression of the feeling in the multitude of monuments with which it beautified the whole country—enumeration of these monuments showing the vast area unified by a common impulse.*

XI. *The geographical knowledge of the whole of India, and, consequently, the perception of its unity was itself the development of centuries.*

XII. *History of the development of this knowledge—the geographical horizon in the Vedic age—the extension of the limits of Vedic India in the ‘Aitareya Brahmana.’*

XIII. *Probable period of the colonisation of Southern India—evidences from Panini and oldest Pali texts—the geographical horizon between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods.*

XIV. *The whole of India was known at least as early as the fourth century B.C.—the evidence of Katyayana—Greek evidence—the geographical data in the ‘Arthasastara’ of Kautilya—the geography of the Asoka Edicts.*

XV. *The geography of Patanjali (150 B.C.)—of the Ramayana—and of the Mahabharata.*

XVI. *The geography of the Puranas—of the Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira, showing an intimate knowledge of all parts of India.*

XVII. *The geography of Kalidasa—end of the account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge.*

XVIII. *The sense of the unity of the whole country was promoted, not only by religion as shown above, but also by politics—rulers of India who established their sway over the whole country, and consequently contemplated and used it as a unit—the oldest of them is generally thought to be Chandragupta.*

XIX. *But the institution of paramount sovereignty was much older than Chandragupta—it was a familiar political idea of the ancient Hindus—evidence on the subject—the terms for a paramount sovereign in Vedic literature.*

XX. *The ‘Aitareya Brahmana’ and ‘Sukraniti’ on the grades of kingly power—the Vedic terms for overlordship.*

XXI. *Further Vedic evidence—the ceremonies specifically fixed for the coronations of emperors—significance of the details and procedure of the Vajapeya.*

XXII. *Significance of the details of the Rajasuya.*

XXIII. *Significance of the imperial inaugurations as described in the ‘Aitareya Brahmana.’*

XXIV. *The ideal of Hindu kingship was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which meant at the least sovereignty of the whole of India “up to the seas”—the consciousness of the territorial synthesis leads to political synthesis, and is itself strengthened by the latter.*

XXV. *Ideals of an all-India overlordship are, however, preserved in Sanskrit literature, along with their concrete embodiments—lists of such paramount kings—in the ‘Aitareya Brahmana’—in the ‘Satapatha Brahmana’—in the ‘Sankhayana Sutra.’*

XXVI. *The lists of such kings in the Puranas—in the Mahabharata—the Arthasastra on the conception of an all-India overlord.*

XXVII. *The conquests of the Pandavas leading to the establishment of their paramount sovereignty under Yudhishtira—the resulting political unification of India.*

XXVIII. *Popularisation of the idea of an all-India sovereignty through the story of Yudhishtira—the current Hindu political notion of a Chakravarti Raja has shaped early Buddhist speculation about the true position and work of the Buddha—the Buddha was the spiritual sovereign who ruled supreme over the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men.*

XXIX. *Thus the sovereignty of Chandragupta Maurya was only a further stage in the development of an old institution—the idea became a common topic of discussion in the works on Hindu Polity—treatment of the problem, “How can a king become a king of kings?” in our Niti-Sastras—the conception of the balance of power in a political system or sphere described therein.*

XXX. *The evidence of Inscriptions as to the strength and popularity of the ideal of a paramount sovereignty governing the whole of India.*

XXXI. *Another conclusive evidence bearing on the popular realisation of Indian unity is the Indian colonisations resulting in the development of a Greater India across the seas.*

XXXII. *Besides the historical factor, there are physical factors in constant operation which establish the geographical unity of India—comparison of the*

barriers which separate its internal parts from those that separate it from the surrounding external countries—the effects of the monsoons in creating uniform physical conditions.

XXXIII. *The destiny and message of India.*

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(from Hindu Sources)

I

THERE are various elements necessary in the making of a nation such as a common language, a common religion, a common government and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps the most fundamental and indispensable factor is the possession of a common country, a fixed, definite abode. Even nationality has a material physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. History shows no authentic record of nomadic peoples developing to any great extent in civilisation until and unless they bound themselves to a fixed habitation and rid themselves of their migratory instincts and habits. The Hebrew people, in spite of the political training they received from Moses, could not achieve much progress until Joshua settled them in Palestine. So also what the historians call the Dark Age of Europe is but the period of unrest and transition when the barbarians left their old homes, overran and disorganised the Roman Empire, but were themselves without any fixed local habitation. "The Athenians under Themistocles saved the State of Athens on their ships, because after the victory they

again took possession of their city; but the Teutons and Cimbri perished, because they left their old homes and failed to conquer a new one."

The spirit, according to Hindu philosophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works; it needs a vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems that the same principle applies in respect of the spirit of nationality. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity and permanence of *place*, and when *that* is assured the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings, associations, traditions and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, religion and culture, and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality, demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings is indeed irresistible, and the assertion may be safely made that it will be effectively operative against other disintegrating, disruptive forces and tendencies such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion.

Now that India is a free and sovereign State, the most important of its problems is the strengthening of its internal cohesion and unity against the disintegrating forces created by the racial, religious and linguistic differences dividing its peoples. These cannot be welded together into a living nation, a puissant political entity, unless in the first place they can

understand and feel that they have a common country to love and serve, that they all belong to one Motherland and are all children of the same soil. The citizens of Free India, irrespective of their cultural and social differences, must keep alive a living conception of their mother-country as an integral unity against the prevailing trend of political thought towards disintegrating India with smaller linguistic States. There is a great danger of the spirit of linguism subduing the spirit of nationalism and militating against the cultivation of an all-India out-look. As the Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru put it in his own inimitable language: "One of the primary tasks for us today is the real emotional integration of India. I hope that the formation of new States and the reorganisation of the present structure of India will not weaken in any way this process of integration of hearts and minds."

II

BUT unfortunately it has become by no means easy to think of India as a single country. No picture of India is now more familiar to the Indian mind than that which represents it to be a continent, or a collection of *many* countries rather than *one* country. For this is the picture that is drawn in most of the standard works on Indian Geography, taught in our schools. An English author of a geography for Indian schools introduces his book with the following remarks: "India is commonly thought of and spoken of as a single country. But this is not true. . . . India is rather a collection of countries." According to Sir

John Strachey, the great Anglo-Indian authority, "this is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political. . . ." But Anglo-Indian opinion itself is however by no means unanimous on this point. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known authority on early Indian History, has delivered himself in a quite different strain: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit and as such is rightly designated by one name." Equally positive and emphatic are the following words of Chisholm, one of the best known authorities on Geography: "There is no part of the world better marked out by Nature as a region by itself than India, exclusive of Burma. It is a region indeed full of contrasts in physical features and in climate,—but the features that divide it as a whole from surrounding regions are too clear to be overlooked."

III

THE fact is that the geographical unity of India is apt to be lost sight of in her immensity and variety. It is difficult to imagine the vast territory that stretches from North to South over a distance exceeding 2,000 miles and from East to West over a distance of more than 1,900 miles as one continuous territory. The total area included within its limits is about two-thirds of that of the continent of Europe. It is nearly fourteen times as large as Great Britain and over ten times the size of the entire British Isles. It is more than six

times the area of either France or Germany.¹ This immensity of her geographical extension has naturally induced those physical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of varieties, 'the epitome of the world.' It is the land, primarily, of as many latitudes as altitudes. The temperature ranges from the singularly dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas culminating in eternal snows to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. The surface rises from the sea-level to heights above the limits of vegetation, above cloud and rain and storm, merged in eternal sunshine. Its climates vary, on the one hand, from torrid and tropical to arctic and polar including between the extremes various shades of the mean or temperate, and, on the other, from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity. The rainfall ranges from 460 inches at Cherrapoonjee to less than even 3 inches in Upper Sind.¹ This amazing variety of latitudes and altitudes, temperature and moisture, produces a corresponding variety in flora and fauna. The range of climatic zones determines that of Botanical as well as Zoological zones. Thus, according to Sir J. D. Hooker,² the flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the eastern hemisphere, if not in the globe. As regards the richness of the Indian fauna, the following testimony of Mr. Blandford³ is sufficient: "Animal life is not only abundant in British India, but it is remarkably varied. The number of kinds of animals inhabiting India and its dependencies is very large, far surpassing, for instance, that of the species found in the whole of

¹ These refer to undivided India.

² *Imperial Gazetteer*, new ed., Vol. I., p. 157.

³ *Ibid*, p. 213.

Europe, although the superficial area of Europe exceeds that of the Indian Empire by about one-half." This extraordinary richness and variety of the flora and fauna of India necessarily imply a corresponding richness and variety in her vegetable and animal products, endowing her with a degree of economic self-sufficiency which falls to the lot of but few countries in the world. As Mr. Lilly puts it, the products of India 'include everything needed for the service of man.' But scarcely less than this physical variety is the *human* variety which India presents with her teeming millions. They absorb so much as a fifth of the whole human race, including races and peoples belonging to all stages and states of social evolution and civilisation with languages, manners and customs, cults and cultures of the most diverse kinds. There are in India no less than seven main physical types of races introducing varieties of physical form in the population; no less than fourteen separate peoples or nationalities with their own languages and literature; no less than 150 different tongues producing a veritable Babel of languages¹; and, finally, nearly all the world-religions, each claiming more than a million of worshippers. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

IV

✓ **SUPERFICIAL** observers are therefore liable to be bewildered by this astonishing variety in Indian life

¹ According to Dr. Cust, "no less than 539 languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India and its bordering regions."

and geography. They lack that power of perception which dives beneath appearances and externals and sees into the life of things. They thus fail to discover the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite. With them, the whole is lost in the parts, nay, the parts are greater than the whole, as in the old adage of blind men 'seeing' the elephant. The fact is that an exclusive dependence upon mere sense-impressions, mere sense-contact with external phenomena, cannot carry us very far: for the senses cannot take us beyond the apparent and the objective. What is needed is the superior interpreting, integrating, synthesising power of the mind that, instead of being overpowered by the multitude of details, will master them and rise above them to a vision of the whole.

A keen, penetrating insight can hardly fail to recognise that beneath all this manifold variety there is a fundamental unity; that this diversity itself, far from being a source of weakness, is a fertile source of strength and wealth. As Sir Herbert Risley has truly observed: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out, a certain underlying uniformity¹ of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." An Indian Census Commissioner,

¹ One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams (*Hinduism*, page 13): "India, though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda

Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics." While, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, speaking from his long and firsthand experience of India, the civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world; while they are common to the whole country or rather continent in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

V

It is generally recognised and admitted on all hands that this Indian unity is largely, if not solely, the creation of the British rule, a by-product of the Pax Britannica, the inevitable outcome of a centralised administration which controls the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. What is not generally known and recognised, however, is that the idea of this fundamental unity is much older than British rule, that it is not a recent growth or discovery but has a history running back to a remote antiquity. There are many proofs to show that the great founders of Indian religion, culture and civilisation

or 'knowledge' in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideals."

were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother-country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression they appear to have given to this sense of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of Bharatavarsha,¹ which is the old indigenous classic name by which India was known to the Hindus. For the name India was given to the country by foreigners. The river Sindhu by which the country was first known to outsiders was changed into Hindu by the Persians, and Indos by the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate. The name Bharatavarsha is not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference. It has a deep, historical significance symbolising a fundamental unity which was certainly perceived and understood by those who invented the name. It is a well-known doctrine of logic that when a common name is applied to different things, it is because of some principle of unity which connects them to a system in spite of the differences. It was hence a consciousness of unity that really made the Rishis of

¹ India was originally called Jambudvipa. This name was in use even in the time of Asoka who, in Buddhist works, is often styled as the king of Jambudvipa. Some of the Pala kings also style themselves as Kings of Jambudvipa in their inscriptions. While the name Jambudvipa has a geographical reference, the name Bharatavarsha has a political reference conveying the idea that the whole of India was governed by a single king (see the Puranas for the etymological significance of the word). Though Jambudvipa and Bharatavarsha were no doubt names applied to the region conquered or colonised by the Aryans, yet subsequent additions by conquest were also known by those general names, as accretions to the main land are known by the name of the latter.

old to apply a single, individualising, appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races speaking many dialects, professing many faiths, owning many cultures. Bharatavarsha is derived from Bharata as Rome is derived from Romulus. Bharata is a great hero of Indian history and tradition, just as Romulus is of Roman. The *Rig-Veda*¹ first mentions him as the leader of a powerful Aryan tribe that played its full part in the original struggles and conflicts by which Aryan polity and culture were being shaped into proper form in the dawn of Indian history. The *Aitareya Brahmana*² refers to his coronation ceremony and subsequent career of conquests leading to his overlordship which is duly solemnised by the performance of the usual Asvamedha sacrifice. This story is also followed up by the *Srimad-Bhagavata*, which applies to him the epithets Adhirat and Samrat, i.e., king of kings, and describes his subjugation of a number of races, tribes and kingdoms such as the Kiratas, the Hunas, the Yavanas, the Paundras and the like, and his ultimate renunciation of the world as an unreality in essence. Bharata, therefore, stood before the multitudinous peoples inhabiting the country that was called after him as the embodiment, the representative, of the dominant Aryan power which was fast accomplishing its work

¹ III.33.

² Panjika VIII.: “एतेन ह वा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण दीर्घतमामामतेयः दौष्मन्ति भरतं अभिषिषेच । तस्मात् उ दौष्मन्तिः भरतः समन्तं सर्व्वतः पृथिवीं जयन् परीयाय अश्वैः उ च मेघ्यैः ईजे” इत्यादि ।

of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. Bharatavarsha is therefore another name for Aryanised India, the congenial fertile soil where Aryan culture planted itself and attained its fruition, the chosen abode which the pioneers of human civilisation adopted as the scene of their labours for the proper expression of their particular genius. And Bharata was held up as a convenient symbol, a comprehensible token of this early renaissance, of the conquest of a new thought and a new faith finding expression through their appropriate literature, disciplines and institutions, social, economic and political, of the accomplishment of a new cultural unity imposed upon and pervading a rich, manifold variety, round which were gathered as in a system of federation, different creeds, cults and cultures with liberty to each to preserve its own typical features and genius and contribute its own quota to enrich the central culture.¹

¹ As pointed out by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., in his suggestive brochure on the *Pedagogy of the Hindus*, this synthetic and complex Indian culture was the result of the Indian system of education which adapted itself to national requirements in all ages, and he argues: "How otherwise can we account for the rise of the numerous Puranas, Samhitas, and Tantras adapted to the needs of the people in different ages and provinces? . . . It was because of their mastery over the principles of Psychology and Sociology that the leaders of the community never neglected the superstitions, the mechanical rites and ceremonies, the diverse practices and usages and various religious customs and mythological notions obtaining in the country, but rather promoted the growth and development of a varied eschatology, a varied mythology and a varied religious system according to the varied geographical and historical condition of the people."

VI

But besides this proof of a common name, there are other proofs to show that the fact of this fundamental unity of India was fully grasped by the popular mind in ancient times. Even such an old book as the *Rig-Veda*, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Rishis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother-country, nay, to transfigure mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the loving heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river-hymn¹ of the *Rig-Veda* where the various rivers of the Punjab, the perennial streams of plenty and good to which the country owes so much, which were at once the highways of commerce and culture alike, are deified by a grateful imagination and receive the nation's worship and homage. As the mind of the devotee contemplates in love and reverence those formative, beneficent agencies of nature contributing from time eternal to the making of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps an image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better and simpler, a more convenient and significant formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as one indivisible unit than the following prayer of the sloka in the aforesaid hymn:—

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुषया ।

असिकन्या मरुद्विधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥ ²

¹ RV. x.75.5

² *Sutudri*=the Sutlej; *Parushni*=the Ravi; *Asikni*=the Chenab; *Marudvidha*=the combined course of the Akeshines

[O ye Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutudri, and Parushni, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marudvridha, joined by the Asikni, Vitasta, and Arjikiya joined by the Sushoma, hear ye my prayers!]

It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India, and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people's consciousness to the fundamental unity of their country. Nay, it does more: it elevates and refines patriotism itself into religion. To think of the mother country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good, becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers. The river-hymn¹ of the *Rig-Veda* therefore presents the first national conception of Indian unity, such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon attained in that age which seems to have been confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges in the east. These limits practically include the whole of

and Hydaspes (Roth); *Vitasta*=Gr. Hydaspes=Jheelum; *Arjikiya*=the Vipas (according to Yaska)=the *Bias*; *Sushoma*=the Indus (Yaska). See Map.

¹ The epithet *Sapta-sindhu*, the land of seven rivers, is applied to the whole of Vedic India in *Rig. VIII.*, 24, 27, and is thus another expression of its geographical unity.

The *Epic* counterpart of the Vedic description of the Punjab is the following couplet of the *Mahabharata*, Karna-parva, chapter 44:—

शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ।

चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुः षष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः॥

Northern India, the geographical unity of which was also recognised and suitably expressed in the designation of the entire territory by the common name of *Aryavarta* in Vedic literature. Manu defines *Aryavarta* as follows:—

आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।

तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योराग्न्यावर्त्तं विदुर्वुधाः ॥—II. 21.

Medhatithi has the following commentary on the above : “ पर्वतयोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्यदन्तरं मध्यं सः आग्न्यावर्त्तौ देशो बुधैः शिष्टैरुच्यते । ”

This explanation is quite in accord with that given by *Amarakosha*, viz :—

“ आग्न्यावर्त्तः पुण्यभूमिः मध्यं विन्ध्यहिमालयोः । ”

So that *Aryavarta* corresponds to the territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.¹

Vii

With the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation of India beyond the limits of the old *Aryavarta* so as to embrace the whole of *Dakshinapatha* or Southern India, the old Vedic formula for the conception of Indian unity was supplemented by the other appropriate formulae to give fitting expression to an ex-

¹ The *Vasishtha Dharma Sutra* [i.9] in accord with *Manava Dharma Sutra*, also defines *Aryavarta* as the region between the Vindhya and the Himalaya, and these two ranges also seem to be the boundaries of the Aryan world in the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* [ii.13]. The *Bala-ramayana* of the poet Rajasekhara speaks of the river Narmada as “the dividing line of *Aryavarta* and *Dakshinapatha*.”

panding geographical consciousness. Thus the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the aforesaid river-hymn of the *Rig-Veda* to a new environment, to an expanded geographical horizon which embraced the whole of India within its limits :—

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।

नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥ ¹

[O ye Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu and Kaveri, come ye and enter into this water of my offering!]

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated by millions of devout Hindus all over the continent during their baths and worships and cannot fail to lift them for the time being above the narrow cares, anxieties, and interests of domestic life to a higher, wider plane of thought, on which they feel something of the great “touch of nature which makes the whole world kin” and realise the vital, fundamental unity or kinship which binds them to a common fatherland, as members of the same nation-family. The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following popular Pauranic couplet,² in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven mountains, those chosen seats of contemplation and peace :—

महेन्द्रो मलयः सत्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ।

¹ We may compare in this connection the mention of the *Sapta-Ganga* or the seven Gangas in *Siva-purana* [II. xii.], viz., Ganga, Godavari, Kaveri, Tamraparni, Sindhu, Sarayu and Reva.

² It also occurs in the *Mahabharata*, Bhishmaparva, Ch. 9.

विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥ ¹

Equally efficacious is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and opening it to a vision of the whole country of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage :—

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।

पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥ ²

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit, and which cover between them practically the entire area of the country. It is also to be noted that the four most meritorious pilgrimages in India were placed by Sankaracharya in the four extreme points of the country, so that the entire country may be known by the people and the whole area held sacred.³ Sankaracharya also established four *maths* or monasteries in the four corners of India,

¹ *Mahendra*—the Mahendra Mali hills in Ganjam and the Eastern Ghats where Parasurama retired after his defeat by Rama; *Malaya*—the southern part of the Western Ghats; *Sahya*—the northern part of the Western Ghats; *Riksha*—the eastern part of the Vindhya, the mountains of Gondwana; *Paripatra* or *Pariyatra*—the western part of the Vindhya, including the Aravalis. See Map.

² The seven sacred places named are: Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya or Hardwar, Kashi or Banaras, Kanchi or Conjeeveram, Avanti or Ujjain, and Dvaravati or Dwarka in Gujarat.

³ These sacred places are Badari-Kedarnath in the north, Rameshvara in the south, Dwaraka in the west and Jagannath in the east.

viz., Jyotirmath in the north, Sharada-math in the west, Sringeri-math in the south, and Goverdhanamath in the east. These were, as it were, the pillars of Sankara's religious victory (दिग्विजय), the capitals of his spiritual empire exercising its sway over the whole of India. The four traditional *tirthas* are similarly Svetaganga in the east, Dhanushtirtha in the south, Gomatikunda in the west and Taptakunda in the north. There are similarly four traditional tanks (सरोवर), *viz.*, Pampa, Vindu, Narayana and Manasa in the south, east, west and north respectively. There are, lastly, four popularly known *Kshetras*, e.g., Mukti, Varaha, Harihara and Kuru. There are again recognised *three* principal temples for the worship of the sun in the east, north and west, *viz.*, Konaraka (in Orissa), Multan [*Brahmapurana*, I. 140, etc.], and Suryapura or Surat [*J.A.S.B.*, I. 387]. There are also similarly distinguished eight Vinayaka (Ganesha) *tirthas*, *viz.*, Moresvara, Ballala, Lenadri, Siddhatek, Ojhar, Sthevara or Meura, Ranjanagrama and Mahada.

The following passage, dear to every devout Hindu, enumerates the various places of Shaiva worship scattered throughout the whole of India :—

सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथश्च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनं ।

उज्जयिन्यां महाका लमोकारममरेश्वरे ॥

केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम् ।

वाराणस्याश्च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे ॥

वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं द्वारकावने ।

सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं घुश्मेशश्च शिवालये ॥

एतानि ज्योतिर्लिङ्गानि सायं प्रातः पठेन्नरः ।
सप्तजन्मकृतं पापं स्मरणेन विनश्यति ॥

[One should utter in the evening and in the morning names of the following luminous symbols of Shiva: Somanatha in Saurashtra (=Gujarat); Mallikarjuna in Shrisaila=the Palni Hills in Madura); Mahakala in Ujjayini (=Ujjain); Omkar in Amarevara (near Mandaleshvara and Mahishmati); Kedara (=Kedaranatha situated on the heights of the Himalayas); Bhimashankara in Dakini (unknown); Vishvesha in Varanasi; Tryambaka on the banks of the Gautami (Godavari). Vaidyanatha in Chitabhumi or Parali (Vaidyanatha); Nagesha or Kamesha in Darukavana, Ramesha in Setubandha (Rameshvara); and Ghushmesh in Shivalaya (unknown). Reciting and recalling the names of these holy places the accumulated sin of seven births is nullified.]

A similar passage enumerates the principal sacred places consecrated to Vishnu which are daily repeated by millions of Hindus all over India

नारायणं बदर्याख्ये नैमिशे हरिमव्ययम् ।
शालग्रामं हरिक्षेत्रे अयोध्यायां रघूत्तमम् ॥ ४ ॥
मथुरायां बालकृष्णं मायायां मधुसूदनम् ।
काश्यांतु भोगशयनमवन्त्यामवनीपतिम् ॥ ५ ॥
द्वारवत्यां यादवेन्द्रं व्रजे गोपीजनप्रियम् ।
वृन्दावने नन्दसूनुं गोविन्दं कालियहृदे ॥ ६ ॥
गोवर्धने गोपवेषं भवघ्नं भक्तवत्सलम् ।
रोमन्थपर्वते शौरिं हरिद्वारे जगत्पतिम् ॥ ७ ॥
प्रयागे माधवंचैव गयायांतु गदाधरम् ।
गङ्गासागरगे विष्णुं चित्रकूटेतु राघवम् ॥ ८ ॥
नन्दिग्रामे राक्षसघ्नं प्रभासे विश्वरूपिणम् ।
श्रीकूर्मे कूर्ममचलं नीलाद्रौ पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥ ९ ॥

सिंहाचले महासिंहं गादिनं तुलसीवने ।
 घृतशैले पापहरं श्वेताद्रौ सिंहरूपिणम् ॥ १० ॥
 योगानन्दं धर्मपुर्या काकुलेत्वन्धनायकम् ।
 अहोवले गारुडाद्रौ हिरण्यासुरमर्दनम् ॥ ११ ॥
 विठ्ठलं पांडुरंगेतु वेङ्कटाद्रौ रमासखम् ।
 नारायणं यादवाद्रौ नृसिंहं घटिकाचले ॥ १२ ॥
 वरदं वारणगिरौ काञ्च्यां कमललोचनम् ।
 यथोक्तकारिणं चैव परमेशपुराश्रयम् ॥ १३ ॥
 पाण्डवानां तथा दूतं त्रिविक्रममथोज्ञतम् ।
 कामासिक्यां नृसिंहं च तथाष्टभुजसंज्ञकम् ॥ १४ ॥
 मेघाकारं शुभाकारं शेषाकारंतु शोभनम् ।
 अन्तरा शितिकण्ठस्य कामकोट्यां शुभप्रदम् ॥ १५ ॥
 कालमेघं खगारूढं कोटिसूर्यसमप्रभम् ।
 दिव्यं दीपप्रकाशं च देवानामधिपं मुने ॥ १६ ॥
 प्रवालवर्णं दीपाभं काञ्च्यामष्टादशास्थितम् ।
 श्रीगृध्रसरसस्तीरे भान्तं विजयराघवम् ॥ १७ ॥
 वीक्षारण्ये महापुण्ये शयानं वीरराघवम् ।
 तोताद्रौ तुङ्गशयनं गजार्तिघ्नं गजस्थले ॥ १८ ॥
 महाबलिं बलिपुरे भक्तिसारे जगत्पतिम् ।
 महावराहं श्रीमुष्णे महीन्द्रे पद्मलोचनम् ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीरेङ्गतु जगन्नाथं श्रीधामे जानकीप्रियम् ।
 सारक्षेत्रे सारनाथं खण्डने हरचापहम् ॥ २० ॥
 श्रीनिवासस्थले पूर्णं सुवर्णस्वर्णमन्दिरे ।
 व्याघ्रपुर्या महाविष्णुं भक्तिस्थानेतु भक्तिदम् ॥ २१ ॥
 श्वेतन्द्रदे शान्तमूर्तिमग्निपुर्या सुरप्रियम् ।
 भर्गाख्यं भार्गवस्थाने वैकुण्ठाख्येतु माधवम् ॥ २२ ॥
 पुरुषोत्तमे भक्तसखं चक्रतीर्थे सुदर्शनम् ।

कुम्भकोणे चक्रपाणिं भूतस्थाने तु शार्ङ्गिणम् ॥ २३ ॥
 कपिस्थले गजार्तिघ्नं गोविन्दं चित्रकूटके ।
 अनुत्तमं चोत्तमायां श्वेताद्रौ पद्मलोचनम् ॥ २४ ॥
 पार्थस्थले परब्रह्मं कृष्णकोट्यां मधुद्विषम् ।
 नन्दपुर्यां महानन्दं वृद्धपुर्यां वृषाश्रयम् ॥ २५ ॥
 असङ्गं सङ्गमग्रामे अरण्ये शरणं महत् ।
 दक्षिणद्वारकायां तु गोपालं जगतां पतिम् ॥ २६ ॥
 सिंहक्षेत्रे महासिंहं मल्लारिं मणिमण्डपे ।
 निबिडे निबिडाकारं धनुष्के जगदीश्वरम् ॥ २७ ॥
 मोहरे कालमेघं तु मधुरायां तु सुन्दरम् ।
 वृषभाद्रौ महापुण्ये परमस्वामिसंज्ञकम् ॥ २८ ॥
 श्रीमद्वरगुणे नाथं कुरुकायां रमासखम् ।
 गोष्ठीपुरे गोष्ठीपतिं शयानं दर्भसंस्तरे ॥ २९ ॥
 धन्वी मङ्गलके शौरिं बलाढ्यं भ्रमरस्थले ।
 कुरङ्गे तु तथा पूर्णं कृष्णमेकं वटस्थले ॥ ३० ॥
 अच्युतं क्षुद्रनद्यां तु पद्मनाभमनन्तके ।
 एतानि विष्णोः स्थानानि पूजितानि महात्मभिः ॥ ३१ ॥

[Vishnu is to be worshipped in His different names at the following sacred places: Narayana at the place Badari; the Eternal Hari at Naimisha forest; Salagrama at Harikshetra; the greatest of the Raghavas (i.e. Rama) in Ayodhya; Balakrishna (boy Krishna) at Mathura; Madhusudana (the killer of the Demon Madhu) at Maya; Bhogasayana (Vishnu who sleeps on the bed of the body of Seshanaga) at Kashi; the Lord of Avani at Avanti; Yadavendra (the chief of the Yadavas) at Dvaravati; the lover of the cowherdesses at Vraja; the son of Nanda at Vrindavana; Govinda at the lake Kaliya; the cowherd Krishna who destroys the miseries of the world and loves his devotees at Govardhana; Sauri at the Ramanatha mountain; the Universal Lord at Haridvara; Madhava, the lord of the Goddess Lakshmi, at Prayaga; Gadadhara at Gaya; Vishnu at the

confluence of the Ganga and the ocean; Raghava (descendant of King Raghu) at Chitrakuta; the killer of demons at Nandigram; Visvarupi at Prabhasa; Kurma (tortoise incarnation) at Srikurma; Purushottama on Niladri; Mahasimha at Simhachala (Simha mountain); Gadin (holding Gada) at Tulasivana; Papahara (nullifying sins) at Ghritasaila; Simharupi on Svetadri; Yogananda at Dharinapuri; Andhanayaka at Kakula; and the killer of the demon Hiranya on the Garuda hills; Vitthala at Panduranga; the Lord of Rama on the Venkata hills; Narayana on Yadava hills; and Nrisimha on Ghatika mountain; the conferrer of boons on Varana hills and Kamalalochana at Kanchi. The Lord who was the messenger of the Pandavas kept his word and measured the whole universe with His three paces at Paramesapura where He was known as Vishnu. He was known as Ashtabhuj and Nrisimha at Kamasiki. At Kamakoti in the vicinity of the blue-throated Siva he is the bestower of welfare, magnificent with an auspicious form like the clouds and Seshanaga. These are the places sanctified as the abode of Lord Vishnu and honoured by the pious.

Oh Sage! We worship the Lord of the gods with the colour of cloud, mounted on Garuda and with the blaze of millions of suns shining and self-luminous.

We worship Vishnu as Viraraghava (Victorious Raghava) in a temple installed on the lake of Sri Gridhra with the colour of a coral, luminous like a lamp enshrined in the eighteen temples of Kanchi.

Vishnu as the Heroic Raghava is seen recumbent in the most sacred place, the forest known as Viksharanya. Vishnu is also to be seen in the recumbent posture on the high hill of Tota while at the place known as Gajasthala, He is worshipped as the protector of elephants.

He is worshipped as Mahabali at the place called Balipura while at the place called Bhaktisara, He is worshipped as Jagatpati (Lord of the world). Vishnu in His incarnation as the Great Boar is worshipped at Srimushna and as Padmalochana at Mahindra.

Vishnu is worshipped as Jagannatha at Sriranga and as the consort of Janaki at Sridhama. He is worshipped as Saranatha

at Sarakshetra and as the bender of the bow of Hara at the place called Khandana.

At Srinivasa, He is worshipped as Purna in the golden temple of beautiful colour and as Mahavishnu at Vyaghrapuri and as the Giver of Bhakti in the place called Bhaktisthana.

He is worshipped as Santamurti at the place called Svetandrada; as Surapriya at Agnipuri; as Bharga at the place of the Bhargavas, and as Madhava at Vaikuntha.

He is worshipped as Bhaktasakha at the place called Purushottama; as Sudarsana at the place called Chakratirtha; as Chakrapani at Kumblakona; and as Sarngi at Bhutasthana.

He is worshipped as Gajartighna at Kapisthala; as Govinda at the place called Chitrakutaka. He is worshipped as Anuttama at Uttama and as Padmalochana at the the place called Svetadri.

He is worshipped as Parabrahma at Parthasthala; as Madhudvit (the enemy of Madhu) at the place called Krishnakoti; as Mahananda at the place known as Nandapuri, and as Vrishasraya (Protector of the Bulls) at the place called Vriddhapuri.

He is known as Asanga at the place called Sangunagrama. He is worshipped as the great refuge of those who seek it at Aranya. At Dakshina-dvaraka He is worshipped as Gopala, Lord of the world.

He is worshipped as Mahasinha at Simhakshetra; as Mallari at the place called Manimandapa; as Nibidakara at the place called Nibida and as Jagadisvara at Dhanushka.

He is worshipped as Kalamegha at Mauhvara; as Sundara at Madhura; as Paramasvami (the Great Lord) at the most sacred place called the Vrishabhadri.

He is worshipped as the Natha at the place called Srimad-Varaguna; as Ramasakha (One who has Rama as the Consort) at the place known as Kuruka and as Goshthipati at Goshthipura and as lying in the bed of Darbha grass at Darbhashayana.

He is worshipped as Sauri at Mangalaka; He is worshipped as Baladhya (exceedingly powerful) at the places called Bhramarasthala. At Kuranga He is worshipped as Purna and at Vatasthala as Krishna.

He is worshipped as Achyuta at the place called Kshudra-

nadi and as Padmanabha at Anantaka. These places sacred to Vishnu are worshipped by great Saints.]

And in the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of the smitten body fell? "And one finger fell in Calcutta, and that is still the Kalighat. And the tongue fell at Kangra (Jwalamukhi) in the North Panjab and appears to this day as licking tongues of fire, from underneath the ground. And the left hand fell at Benares which is for ever Annapurna, the Giver-of-Bread."¹

The tradition about these Pithas or Shakta holy places is recorded differently in different Tantrika texts. The most important of these are:

(1) *Tantrachudamani* of which a section is known as *Pithanirnaya* or *Mahapithanirupana*;

(2) *Kubjikatantra* with its list of forty-two Pithas-thanais;

(3) *Jnanarnavatantara* which mentions 30 Pithas;

(4) *Tantrasara* which mentions 51 Pithas;

(5) *Mastya Purana* mentioning as many as one hundred and eight Pithas also cited in the *Skanda Purana*, *Padma Purana* and *Devi Bhagavata*.

It will thus be seen that the tradition about the Pithas admits of considerable freedom in its treatment in different sources, due probably to the absence of any common tradition upon which they were drawing. The basis of the tradition, however, is the story of *Dakshayajñabhanga* as described in works like *Kalika Purana* or *Devi Bhagavata*.

¹The *Devigita* (eighth chapter) enumerates the various places throughout India sacred to the *Devi* or *Durga*.

For our present purpose, it will be sufficient to take as a representative list the list of 51 Pithasthanas as given in the text called *Pithanirnaya*.

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां (Hingula) भैरवी भीमलोचन ।
 कोट्टरी सा महादेव त्रिगुणा च दिगम्बरी ॥ ४ ॥
 करवीरे (Karavira) त्रिणेत्र मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।
 क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र सुगन्धायाम् (Sugandha) नासिका ॥ ५ ॥
 देवस्थयम्बकनामा च सुनन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥
 काश्मीरे (Kashmir) कण्ठदेशश्च त्रिसन्ध्येश्वरभैरवः ।
 महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥
 ज्वालामुख्यां (Jvalamukhi) तथा जिह्वा देव उन्मत्तभैरवः ।
 अम्बिका सिद्धिका नाम्नी (देवी) स्तनं जालन्धरे (Jalandhar)
 मम ॥ ८ ॥

भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमालिनी ॥ ९ ॥
 हृत्पीठं वैद्यनाथे (Vaidyanath) वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ।
 देवता जयदुर्गाख्या नेपाले (Nepal) जानु मे शिव ॥ १० ॥
 कपाली भैरवः श्रामान् महामाया च देवता ॥ ११ ॥
 मानसे (Manasa) दक्षहस्तो मे देवी दाक्षायणी हर ।
 अमरो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ १२ ॥
 उत्कले (Utkal) नाभिदेशश्च विरजाक्षेत्रमुच्यते ।
 विमला सा महादेवी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ १३ ॥
 गण्डक्यां (Gandaki) गण्डपातश्च तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः ।
 तत्र सा गण्डकी चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ॥ १४ ॥
 बहुलायां (Bahula) वामबाहुर्बहुलाख्या च देवता ।
 भीरुको भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ १५ ॥
 उज्जयिन्यां (Ujjayini) कूर्परश्च माङ्गल्य कपिलाम्बरः ।
 भैरवः सिद्धिदः साक्षाद्देवी मङ्गलचण्डिका ॥ १६ ॥

चट्टले (Chattala Chittagong) दक्षबाहुर्मे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।
व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानी चात्र देवता ।

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखर ॥ १७ ॥

त्रिपुरायां (Tripura) दक्षपादो देवी त्रिपुरमुन्दरी ।

भैरवस्त्रिपुरेशश्च सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः ॥ १८ ॥

त्रिस्रोतायां (Trisrota) वामपादो भ्रामरी-भैरवेश्वरः ॥ १९ ॥

योनिपीठं कामगिरी (Kamagiri or Kamarupa)

कामाख्या तत्र देवता ।

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता रक्तपाषाणरूपिणी ॥ २० ॥

भूतधात्री क्षीरग्रामे (Kshiragrama) भैरवः क्षीरगण्डकः ।

युगाद्या सा महामाया दक्षाहुष्टं पदो मम ॥ २१ ॥

नकुलीशः कालीपीठे (Kalipitha) दक्षपादाङ्गुली च मे ।

सर्वसिद्धिकरी-देवी-कालिका तत्र देवता ॥ २२ ॥

अङ्गुलीवृन्दं हस्तस्य प्रयागे (Prayaga) ललिताभवः ।

जयन्त्यां (Jayanti) वामजङ्घा च जयन्ती कमदीश्वरः ॥ २३ ॥

भुवनेशी सिद्धिरूपा किरीटेश्याः (Kirita) किरीटतः ।

देवता विमला नाम्नी संवर्त्तो भैरवस्तथा ॥ २४ ॥

वाराणस्यां (Varanasi) विशालाक्षी देवता कालभैरवः ।

मणिकर्णीति विख्याता कुण्डलं च मम श्रुते ॥ २५ ॥

कन्याश्रमे (Kanyasrama) च पृष्ठं मे निमिषो भैरवस्तथा ।

शर्वाणी देवता तत्र कुक्षेत्रे (Kurukshetra) च गुल्फतः ॥ २६ ॥

स्थाणुर्नाम्ना च सावित्री देवता मणिवेदके (Manivedaka) ।

मणिवद्धे च गायत्री सर्वानन्दस्तु भैरवः ॥ २७ ॥

श्रीशैले (Srisaila or Srihatta) च मम ग्रीवा महालक्ष्मीस्तु

देवता ।

भैरवः शमुरानन्दो देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥ ३३ ॥

काञ्चीदेशे (Kanchidesa) च कङ्कालो भैरवो हरुनामकः ।

देवता देवगर्भाख्या नितम्बः कालमाधवे (Kalamadhava) ॥ ३४ ॥

शोणाख्या भद्रसेनस्तु नर्मदाख्ये (Narmada) नितम्बः ।

रामगिरौ (Ramagiri) स्तनोन्यश्च शिवानी चण्डभैरवः ॥ ३७ ॥

वृन्दावने (Vrindavana) केशजालमुमा नाम्नी च देवता ।

भूतेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ ३८ ॥

संहाराख्य ऊर्ध्वदन्तो देवी (Snले) [Anala] नारायणीशुचौ ।

अधोदन्तो महारुद्रो वाराही पञ्चसागरे (Panchasagara) ॥ ३९ ॥

करतोयातटे (Karatoatata) तल्पं (कर्णं) वामे वामनभैरवः ।

अपर्णा देवता यत्र ब्रह्मरूपाकरोद्भवा ॥ ४० ॥

श्रीपर्वते (Sri Parvata) दक्षगुल्फ (कर्णं) स्तत्र श्रीचुन्दरी-परा ।

सर्वसिद्धीश्वरी सर्वा सुन्दरानन्दभैरवः ॥ ४१ ॥

कपालिनी (कपाली-च) भीमरूपा वामगुल्फो विभाषके

[Vibhashaka] ।

[भैरवश्च महादेव सर्वानन्दः शुभप्रदः] ॥ ४२ ॥

उदरश्च (अधरश्च) प्रभासे [Prabhasa] मे चन्द्रभागा यशस्विनी ।

वक्रतुण्डो भैरवश्चोर्ध्वोष्ठो भैरवपर्वते [Bhairavaparvata] ॥ ४३ ॥

अवन्ती च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥ ४४ ॥

चिबुके भ्रामरी देवी विकृताक्षो जलेस्थले [जनस्थाने] [Janasthana] ।

गण्डो गोदावरीतीरे [Godavaritira] विश्वेशीविश्वामातृका ॥ ४५ ॥

रत्नावल्यां [Ratnavali] दक्षस्कन्धः कुमारी भैरवः शिवः ।

मिथिलायामुमा [Mithila] देवी वामस्कन्धो महोदरः ॥ ४६ ॥

[नलाहाट्यां] [Nalahati] नलापातो योगीशो भैरवस्तथा ।

तत्र सा कालिका देवी सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिका ॥ ४८ ॥

कालीघाटे [Kalighata] मुण्डपातः क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तथा ।

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या नानाभोगप्रदायिनी ॥ ५९ ॥
 वक्रेश्वरे (Vakresvara) मनःपातो वक्रनाथस्तु भैरवः ।
 नदी पापहरा तत्र देवी महिषमर्दिनी ॥ ५० ॥
 यशोरे (Yessore) पाणिपद्मश्च देवता यशोरेश्वरी ।
 चण्डश्च भैरवो चात्र तत्र सिद्धिर्नसंशयः ॥ ५१ ॥
 अट्टहासे (Attahasa) चोष्ठपातो देवी सा फुल्लरा स्मृता ।
 विश्वेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः ॥ ५२ ॥
 हारपातो नन्दीपुरे (Nandipura) भैरवो नन्दिकेश्वरः
 नन्दिनी सा महोदेवी तत्र सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ५३ ॥
 लङ्कायां (Lanka) नूपुरञ्चैव भैरवो राक्षसेश्वरः ।
 इन्द्राणी देवता तत्र इन्द्रेणोपासिता पुरा ॥ ५४ ॥
 विराट्देशमध्ये (Viratadesa) तु पादाङ्गुलिनिपातनम् ।
 भैरवश्चाभृताख्यश्च देवी तत्राम्बिका स्मृता ॥ ५५ ॥

4. At Hingula (modern Hinglaj in Baluchistan) (was dropped) Brahmarandhra (an aperture in the crown of the head through which the soul is said to escape on its leaving the body); there, Mahadeva, the Lord of Kottari (a naked woman) is famous as Bhairava and the naked Indian mother-goddess is known as Triguna.

5. At Karavira (modern Sukkur) fell my three eyes; the goddess is Mahishamardini (the slayer of the demon Mahisha in the form of a buffalo); the Bhairava there is (famous as) Krodhisa. At Sugandha was dropped the nose.

6. There the god is Tryambaka and Sunanda is the goddess.

7. In Kashmir, the portion of the neck; the Bhairava is Trisandhesvara, (and) the goddess is (termed

as) Mahamaya, the giver of boons and beyond the three Gunas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas).

8. At Jvalamukhi, then, the tongue; the god (is) Unmattabhairava; (the goddess) known as Ambika the giver of perfection (or fulfilment). At Jalandhara (the chief city of the Jullundur District of the Punjab) my breast.

9. There the Bhairava is Bhishana, and the goddess, Tripuramalini.

10. At Vaidyanatha (at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas District of Bihar), the heart; and the Bhairava is Vaidyanatha; the female deity is known as Jayadurga; in Nepal my knee, O Siva (Lord).

11. (There) Sri Bhairava is (famous as) Kapalin, and the goddess, Mahamaya.

12. At Manasa (the famous lake) my right hand; (and) the goddess Dakshayani, O Hara (my lord)! The Bhairava is Amara there, the giver of all kinds of perfection.

13. And in Utkala (Orissa), the navel; it is said to be the Viraja Kshetra. The great goddess is Vimala and the Bhairava, Jagannatha.

14. At the Gandaki (modern Gandak) fell the cheek; there, one can doubtless have fruition. There she is (known as) Gandaki Chandi, and the Bhairava is Chakrapani.

15. At Bahula, the left arm, and the goddess termed as Bahula; there the Bhairava is Bhiruka, the giver of all completions.

16. At Ujjayini (modern Ujjain), the elbow, and the Bhairava (is) auspicious Kapilambara (lit. the

tawny-garmented), a veritable giver of salvation; the goddess (is) Mangala Chandi(ka).

17. At Chattal (in the Chittagong District of East Pakistan), my right arm; the Bhairava (is) Chandra-sekhara; the goddess is there Bhavani, as she revealed herself. I do especially take resort to (or my abode especially is) Chandrasekhara in the Kali Age.

18. At Tripura (Tipperah) the right foot; the goddess (is) Tripurasundari; the Bhairava is Tripuresa, the giver of all desired objects.

19. At Trisrota (modern Tirhut in North Bihar) the left foot, Bhramari (the goddess); Bhairavesvara, (the Bhairava).

20. In Kamagiri (in Kamarupa or Assam) the female sex-organ; the female-deity is Kamakhya; she is beyond the three Qualities, and of a redstone-form.

21. Where resides veritable Madhava and the Bhairava (named) Umananda, (and where the goddess always roams about, there regarding salvation, one can have no doubt.

22. There is the goddess Sreemati Bhairavi and there the Kshetradevata (identified with Kamakhya), there Prachanda Chandika (i.e., Chhinnamasta) Matangi, Tripura, Ambika, Vagala, Kamala, there Bhuvanesi (Bhuvanesvari) with Dhumini (Dhumavati).

23. The super-pilgrimages are respected or praised by the best of the Bhairavas. So are the ten goddesses, and so the ten Bhairavas.

24. Everywhere I am rare; (but in Kamarupa (I am available) in each house. Having (once) climbed on the peak of Gauri, one will have no rebirth.

25. Beginning from Karatoya up to the seat of

Dikkaravasini, the triangular (tract) of hundred yojanas in breadth can give all kinds of fruition. Even the gods desire (or seek) death (here), what to speak of human beings etc. (the mortals etc.)?

26. At Kshiragrama (near Katwa in the Burdwan District) my thumb of the right leg; the great mother (Mahamaya) in Yugadya; the Bhairava named Kshirakhandaka.

27. At Kalipitha (at Kalighat in the Southern suburb of Calcutta) my (four) fingers of the right foot; there the goddess is the giver of all blessings, Kalika.

28. At Prayaga (were dropped) the fingers of the hand; (the goddess) Lalita, (the Bhairava) Bhava. At Jayanti (at Kalajor in the Sylhet district of East Pakistan), the left thigh, (the) (female-deity) Jayanti, the Bhairava, Kramadisvara.

29. At Kirita (Kiritakona near Lalbag in the Murshidabad District) Kirita, the Bhairava, the goddess is Bhuvanesi. (or, the goddess is Vimala, the Bhairava, Samvarta.)

30. At Banaras, the goddess (is) Visalakshi; (the Bhairava is) Kalabhairava. As my earring fell here, the place is famous as Manikarni (the reference being to the famous Manikarnika at Banaras in U.P.)

31. And at Kanyasrama, my hinder part (back); the Bhairava there Nimisha; the goddess there is Sarvani. At Kurukshetra, the ankle.

32. The god is Sthanu, the goddess Savitri. At Maniveda, the goddess is Gayatri, the Bhairava Sarvananda.

33. At Srisaila (modern Sylhet in East Pakistan) my neck; the female-deity is Mahalakshmi; the Bhairava is Sarvananda—this is known everywhere.

34. At Kanchi (modern Conjeeveram in Madras

State) (my) skeleton; the Bhairava named Ruru; the goddess is termed as Devagarbha; at Kalamadhava the hip.

35. The Bhairava Asitanga, the deity Kali, the donor of happy blessings. If one repeatedly visits there and salutes them one is (bound) to get the fruition of hymeneal charms.

36. On Wednesday and in the fifteenth of the dark fortnight (or the newmoon day), in the half part of the night, he who salutes (them) while giving rounds, is (sure) to get his charms fulfilled.

37. On the Narmada, the part of the hip; the goddess is Sona (or Sonakshi) (the Bhairava) Bhadrāsena; at Ramagiri the other breast, Sivani, Chandabhairava.

38. At Vrindavana, the locks of hair, the goddess Uma, the Bhairava, Bhutesa, the giver of all prosperity.

39. At Anala (fell) the upper teeth, the (she-deity) Narayani; the Bhairava named as Samhara. (?) The lower teeth in the five Seas (Oceans), Maharudra, Varahi.

40. On the bank of the Karatoya (the sacred river of northern Bengal), the left ear; the god is Vamanabhairava; the goddess there is Aparna who is born of the lustre of Brahman.

41. At Sriparvata (or the Srisaila in the Nallamalur range to the south of Krishna) the right ear (or the right ankle); there the great goddess is Sri Sundari, the donor of all successes and attainments, the all-pervading; the Bhairava is Sundarananda.

42. The left ankle at the (pilgrimage) Vibhasa (at Tamluk in Midnapur District) the wife of Siva is (famous as) Bhimarupa; the Bhairava is Mahadeva

(or to some Kapalin), the joy of all (or pure bliss), the benevolent.

43. At Prabhasa (in Kathiawar) my belly (according to some nether lip); (the goddess is) famous Chandrabhaga; the Bhairava is Vakratunda, the upper lip on the Bhairava hill (probably near West Malwa).

44. (There) the great goddess Avanti, the Bhairava is Lambakarna.

45. In Janasthana fell the chin, the goddess Bhramari, (the Bhairava) Vikritaksha; the (left) cheek on the bank of the Godavari; (the Bhairava) Visvesa, (the goddess) is Visvamatrika.

46. At the falling of the left cheek, the Bhairava is Dandapani, the goddess Rakini. (It is the same as Rankini). The Bhairava is there again Vatsanabha, there is no doubt regarding success in that place.

47. At Ratnavali the right shoulder, (the goddess is) Kumari, the Bhairava Siva. At Mithila, the goddess is Uma—(where fell) the left shoulder. The god is Mahodara.

48. At Nalahati (in the Birbhum District) was dropped the gullet, the Bhairava there is Yogisa. There the goddess is Kalika, the giver of all successes.

49. At Kalighat fell the head, the Bhairava there is Krodhisa, the goddess is known as Jayadurga, the giver of different kinds of enjoyments.

50. At Vakresvara (near Dubrajpur in the Birbhum District) was dropped the heart, the Bhairava is Vakranatha; the river there removes away all sins, the deity is Mahishamardini.

51. At Jessore the lotous-like palm (of the hand). the goddess is Yasoresvari. There the Bhairava is Chanda, and success can doubtlessly be attained.

52. At Attahasa the upper lip, there the goddess is (remembered or) famous as Phullara; the Bhairava is Visvesa; he gives all kinds of completion or Siddhi.

53. At Nandipura was dropped the necklace; the Bhairava is Nandikesvara. The great goddess is Nandini; there one attains Siddhi or fruition.

54. At Lanka, the anklet; the Bhairava is Rakshasesvara; the goddess is Indrakshi, she was formerly (or previously) worshipped by Indra.

55. In the midst of the Virata country was dropped the fingers of the feet; the Bhairava there is Amritaksha (or to some known as Amrita), the goddess is famous as Ambika.

In addition to the above list of Mahapithas, the *Shivacharita* recognizes Upapithas of which it mentions as many as 26 at such important places as Varanasi, Nilachala, Ayodhya, Vrindavana, Srisaila, Pundra, and Svetavandha. This descriptive list may be given in a tabular form.

<i>Pitha</i>	<i>Anga Pratyanga</i>	<i>Devi</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
1. Kiratakona	Kirita	Bhuvanesi	Kiritin
2. Kesajala	Kesa	Uma	Bhutesa
3. Varanasi	Kundala	Visalakshi	Kalabhairava
		Annapurna	Visvesvara
4. Uttara	Vama-ganda amsa	Uttarini	Utsadana
5. Nalasthana	Dakshina-ganda amsa	Bhramari	Virupaksha
6. Attahasa	Oshthamsa	Phullara	Visvanatha
7. Samhara	Dantamsa	Suresi	Suresa
8. Nilachala	Uchichhishta	Vimala	Jagannatha
9. Ayodhya	Kantha-hara	Annapurna	Harihara
10. Nandipura	Har-amsa	Nandini	Nandisvara
11. Srisaila	Griva-amsa	Sarvesvari	Satchitananda
12. Kalipitha	Siromsa	Chandesvari	Chandesvara
13. Chakradvipa	Astra	Chakradharini	Sulapani
14. Yasora	Pani	Yasoresvari	Prachanda
15. Satichala	Karamsa	Sunanda	Sunanda
16. Vrindavana	Skandhamsa	Kumari	Kumara

17. Gaurisekhara	Vasa	Yugadya	Bhima
18. Nalahati	Sirinali	Sephalika	Yogisa
19. Sarvasaila	Kakshamsa	Visvamata	Dandapani
20. Sona	Nitambamsa	Bhadra	Bhadresvara
21. Trisrota	Padamsa	Parvati	Isvara
22. Lanka	Nupura	Indrakshi	Rakshasesvara
23. Kataka	Charinamsa	Katakesvari	Vamadeva
24. Pundra	Loma	Sarvakshini	Sarva
25. Tailanga	Lomakhanda	Chandadayika	Chandesa
26. Svetavandha	Bhagnamsa	Jaya	Mahabhima

All the above passages, with their remarkable hold on the heart of the people as texts of their daily prayers, give expression to a feeling for the fatherland, an absorbing passion for place which is hardly surpassed anywhere in the world, while a negative proof of the same emotion shows itself in the fact that all the holy and sacred places of India lie within the limits of India undivided and not one of them in some far off Palestine.

VIII

This intense passion for fatherland, indeed, utters itself throughout Sanskrit literature. We select some of these references at random. The *Atharva Veda*, for instance, sings the praises of the mother country as the land of the brave and the pious, of heroism and enterprise, of commerce and trade, of science and art, of virtue and greatness, of countless medicinal herbs and plants;¹ the land, girt by the sea and fertilised by the sacred rivers like the Indus, and rich in

¹Av XII.2—“नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या विभर्त्ति...”

grain and foodstuffs;¹ the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras succumbed to the might of the Devas;² the land which boasts of the highest mountain and the most beautiful forest;³ the land of sacrificial rites and sacred pleasures, of valour and renown, of patriotism and self-sacrifice, of virtue and kindness.⁴ There are passages also in other Sanskrit works which refer to India as the chosen land,⁵ a veritable heaven on earth, culminating in the great national utterance:

¹Av XII. 3— “यस्यां समुद्र उत सिन्धुरापो यस्यामन्नं कृष्टयः सम्बभूवुः । ”

²Av XII. 5 “यस्यां पूर्वे पूर्वजना विचक्रिरे यस्यां देवा असुरानभ्यवर्त्तयन् । ”

³Av XII. 11—“गिरयस्ते पर्वता हिमवन्तोऽरण्यं ते पृथिविष्यो-
नमस्तु । ”

⁴Av XII. 1. 22— “भूम्यां देवेभ्यो ददति यज्ञं हव्यमरंकृतम् । ”

⁵Av XII. 1. 41—

“यस्यां गायन्ति नृत्यन्ति भूम्यां मर्त्याव्येलाः ।

युद्धयन्ते यस्यामाक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति हुन्दुभिः ॥ ”

⁶Manu, II. 17—“तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते । ”

Vishnu Purana, II iii. 24:—

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि

धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।

स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते

भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥

[Thus do the gods sing the glories of Bharatavarsha: “More fortunate than we are they who are born in that land wherein lies the veritable road to heaven and salvation.”]

“जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी”

(‘mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself’).

IX

The same feeling for the fatherland has again spread over the whole continent a network of shrines

Srimad Bhagavata, v. xix. 20, 27.

अहो वतैषां किमकारि शोभनम्
 प्रसन्न एषां खिदुत स्वयंहरिः ।
 यैर्जन्म लब्धं नृषुभारताजिरे
 मुकुन्दसेवोपयिकं स्पृहाहि नः ॥ २० ॥

[Lo! how glorious were the deeds of these which won the favour of God Hari Himself. By His favour they obtained birth among the people of Bharata, the birth which is our aspiration as an opportunity for the worship of Mukunda (=Lord Krishna)].

यद्यत्र नः स्वर्गसुखावशेषितं
 स्विष्टस्य सूक्तस्य कृतस्य शोभनम् ।
 तेनाजनाभे स्मृतिमज्जन्म नः स्याद्-
 वर्षे हरिर्यद् भजतां शं तनोति ॥ २३ ॥

[Oh Lord, out of whose navel emerged Brahma (Ajanabhai), if we have any part of heavenly bliss still remaining to be enjoyed as the fruit of our religious offerings and sacrifices, utterance of Mantras and virtuous deeds, may we have, as a consequence of that, a birth with the memory of our previous lives fully alive within us in the land where God Hari bestows His blessings among devotees.]

and sacred places which constitutes one of the distinguishing and differentiating features of India. For it goes without saying that the institution of pilgrimage is entirely an expression of love for the motherland, one of the modes of worship of the country which strengthens the religious sentiment and expands the geographical consciousness. Behind the religious merit and sanctity of pilgrimage there lies the admiration of place, of art, even of geographical significance. Banaras in the North and Conjeeveram in the South are loved and visited because they are cathedral cities, rich in architecture, in treasure and in the associations of saints and scholars. We also feel that Jagannath owes its position in no small degree to the sheer beauty of the sea and also perhaps to the cosmopolitanism of the place as the port through which long flowed the eastern trade. Allahabad, the Tirtharaja Prayaga, the prince of holy places, inevitably rose at the confluence of two mighty rivers mingling their waters. The perennial beauty of the Himalayas has captivated the national imagination and has made them the refuge of holy men, drawing unending streams of pilgrims. Indeed, the Hindu's pilgrimages are always to the glacier-clad mountain the palm-clad seashore or ocean-isle, or the almost impenetrable depths of hill and jungle, where the tread of the generations of Man has scarcely been heard, and Nature left free to exercise her healing and healthful influence. Thus the Indian treats the beauty of place in a peculiar way, foreign to the West: his method of appreciating and celebrating it is quite different. A spot of beauty is no place for social enjoyment or self-indulgence; it is the place for self-restraint, for solitary meditation which leads

the mind from nature up to Nature's God. Had Niagara been situated on the Ganges, how different would have been its valuation by humanity!¹ Instead of occasional picnics and railway pleasure-trips, the perennial pilgrimage of worshipping crowds. Instead of parks, *ashramas*. Instead of hotels, temples. Instead of ostentatious excess, simple austerity. Instead of the desire to harness its mighty forces to the chariot of human utility, an absorbing subjectivity, a complete detachment from the body and the outward world to feed the life of the spirit!

Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument for developing the geographical sense in the people which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single, though immense, organism, filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end. The visit to holy places as an imperative religious duty has made wide travelling a national habit in India in all ages of life, with young and old alike, and travelling in ages preceding the era of steam and mechanical transport could not but promote a deep knowledge of the tracts traversed which is easily escaped by modern globe-trotters. It was this supremely Indian institution in fact which served in the past in place of the modern railway and facilities for travel to promote popular movements from place to place and intercommunication between parts producing a perception of the whole. It allowed no parochial, provincial sense to grow up which might interfere with the growth of the idea of the geographical unity of the mighty

¹ Cf. Sister Nivedita's "*The Web of Indian Life*," p. 241.

motherland; allowed no sense of physical comforts to stand in the way of the sacred duty of intimately knowing one's mother country; and softened the severities of old-world travelling by breaking the pilgrim's route by a holy halting place at short intervals.

It is difficult indeed to count up the innumerable sacred spots which an overflowing religious feeling has planted throughout India. One of the best lists¹ of these is to be found in the Vanaparva of the *Mahabharata* where two descriptions are given of the

¹ The *Garuda-purana* preserves some authentic lists of the Hindu holy places all over India. The following passage in the sixty-sixth chapter distinguishes the principal sacred places thus:—

शालग्रामोद्वारकाच नैमिषं पुष्करं गया ।
 वाराणसी प्रयागञ्च कुरुक्षेत्रञ्च सूकरं ॥
 गङ्गा च नर्मदा गोदा चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती ।
 श्रीक्षेत्रञ्च महाकालस्तीर्थान्येतानि शङ्कर ॥
 सर्व पापहराण्येव भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदानिवै ।

[The following are the holy places which verily free the pilgrims of their sins confer upon them prosperity and salvation: Salagrama, Dvaraka, Naimisha, Pushkara, Gaya, Varanasi, Prayaga, Kurukshetra, Sukara, the rivers Ganga, Narmada, Goda (Godavari), Chandrabhaga, and Sarasvati, Srikshetra and Mahakala.]

But perhaps the best and a most exhaustive enumeration of holy places occurs in the eighty-first chapter, which passes in review the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the following couplets:—

सर्वतीर्थानि वक्ष्यामि गङ्गातीर्थोत्तमोत्तमा ।
 सर्वत्र सुलभागङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा ॥

principal holy places, one by Narada and the other by Dhaumya. Other such lists are to be found in the various accounts of what are known as the Pitha-sthanas. The popularly known number, 52, is given by *Tantra Chudamani*. According to *Devi-Bhagavata*, the number is 108 [7-30]. The *Kubjuikatantra* also enumerates the various Siddhapithas throughout India. The *Siva-Charita* distinguishes the Mahapithas numbering 51 from the minor Upa-pithas numbering 26. A reference to these holy places is also contained in the *Kalika-purna* (Chh. 18, 50, 61).

हरिद्वारे प्रयागेच गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ।
 प्रयागं परमं तीर्थं मृतानां भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥
 सेवनात् कृतपिण्डानां पापभित् कामदं नृणाम् ।
 वारणासी परं तीर्थं विश्वेशो यत्रकेशवः ॥
 कुरुक्षेत्रं परं तीर्थं दानायैर्भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ।
 प्रभासं परमं तीर्थं सोमनाथोहि यत्रच ॥
 द्वारकाच पुरी रम्या भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायिका ।
 प्राची सरस्वती पुण्या सप्तसारस्वतं परं ॥
 केदारं सर्वपापघ्नं शम्भलग्राम उत्तमम् ।
 नरनारायणं तीर्थं मुक्त्यै बदरिकाश्रमम् ॥
 श्वेतद्वीपं पुरी माया नैमिषं पुष्करं परम् ।
 अयोध्या चार्यतीर्थन्तु चित्रकूटश्च गोमतीम् ॥
 वैनायकं महातीर्थं रामगिर्याश्रमं परम् ।
 काञ्चीपुरी तुङ्गभद्रा श्रीशैलं सेतुबन्धनम् ॥
 रामेश्वरं परं तीर्थं कार्तिकेयं तथोत्तमम् ।
 भृगुतुङ्गं कामतीर्थं चामरकण्ठकं तथा ॥
 उज्जयिन्यां महाकालः कुब्जके श्रीधरोहरिः ।

X

Along with this system and network of Hindu holy places should also be considered the multitude of monuments with which Buddhism and Jainism—ultimately and essentially but phases of Hindu thought—have adorned the land and influenced the geographical consciousness of large numbers of people under their direct sway. “Historically, both Buddhism and Jainism may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism.”¹ Buddhism in fact is the

¹ See V. A. Smith's *A History of Fine Art in India*, etc., introduction.

कुब्जान्नकं महातीर्थं कालसर्पिश्च कामदम् ॥
 महाकेशीच कावेरी चन्द्रभागा विपाशया ।
 एकाम्रञ्च तथा तीर्थं ब्रह्मेशं देवकोटकम् ॥
 मथुराच पुरी रम्या शोणश्चैव महानदः ।
 जम्बूसरो महातीर्थं तानि तीर्थानि विद्धि च ॥
 सूर्यः शिवो गणो देवी हरिर्यत्र च तिष्ठति ।
 एतेषु च तथान्येषु स्नानदानं जपस्तपः ॥
 पूजाश्राद्धं पिण्डदानं सर्वं भवति चाक्षयम् ।
 शालग्रामं सर्वदं स्यात् तीर्थं पशुपतेः परम् ॥
 कोकामुखश्च वाराहं भाण्डीरं स्वामिसंज्ञकम् ।
 मोहदण्डेमहाविष्णुर्मन्दारे मधुसूदनः ॥
 कामरूपं महातीर्थं कामाख्या यत्र तिष्ठति ।
 पुण्यवर्द्धनकं तीर्थं कार्तिकेयश्च यत्र च ॥
 विरजन्त महातीर्थं तीर्थं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमम् ।
 महेंद्रपर्वतस्तीर्थं कावेरीच नदीपरा ॥
 गोदावरी महातीर्थं पयोष्णी वरदा तथा ।

name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, when precipitated in a foreign consciousness. Its special and most noteworthy contribution was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India, passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full and living communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas.

विन्ध्यः पापहरं तीर्थं नर्मदाभेद उत्तमः ॥
 गोकर्णं परमं तीर्थं तीर्थं माहिष्मतीपुरी ।
 कालञ्जरं महातीर्थं शुक्रतीर्थमनुत्तमम् ॥
 कृतशोचं मुक्तिदञ्च शार्ङ्गधारीच दण्डके ।
 विरजं सर्वदं तीर्थं स्वर्णाक्षं तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
 नन्दितीर्थं मुक्तिदञ्च कोटितीर्थफलप्रदम् ।
 नासिक्यञ्च महातीर्थं गोवर्द्धनमतः परम् ॥
 कृष्णवेणी भीमरेखा गण्डकी यातिवरावती ।
 तीर्थं विन्दुसरः पुण्यं विष्णुपादोदकं परम् ॥
 श्रीरङ्गश्च हरेस्तीर्थं तापीश्रेष्ठा महानदी ।
 सप्तगोदावरं तीर्थं तीर्थं कोणगिरिः परम् ॥
 महालक्ष्मीर्यत्र देवी प्रणीता परमा नदी
 सहाद्रौ देवदेवेश एकवीरः सुरेश्वरी ॥
 गङ्गाद्वारे कुशावर्ते विन्ध्यके नीलपर्वते ।
 स्नात्वा कनखले तीर्थे स भवेन्न पुनर्भवे ॥

What the idea of pilgrimage is to the Hindu mind, the worship of relics is to the Buddhist. The former realised itself in the planting of holy places, the latter in the erection of monuments beautifying the land. The Buddhist veneration of relics led to the construction of multitudes of domed cupolas (stupas, dagobas) for the safe custody of the relics, surround-

[I will tell you all the holy places. Ganga is the holiest of holy places. Though easily accessible at all places, Ganga is specially sacred at three places viz., Haridvara, Prayaga and at the confluence of Ganga and the ocean. Prayaga is the holiest of all places and bestows bliss and salvation on the departed souls for whom *pindas* are offered here. It destroys sins and fulfils the desires of those who reside here. Varanasi is the holy place where Kesava—Visvesa (is worshipped). Kurukshetra is the sacred place that confers prosperity and salvation because of charity etc. distributed here. Prabhasa is the greatest Tirtha as Lord Somanatha resides here. And Dvaraka is a beautiful city, the giver of worldly happiness and emancipation. There are the great tirthas viz., the sacred eastern Sarasvati, Sapta—Sarasvata, Kedara, the destroyer of all sins and the excellent Sammalagrama, Badarikashrama of Nara-Narayana (the incarnation of the God whose abode are the 'waters') is the tirtha of Badarikashrama. Sveta-dvipa, the city of Maya, Pushkara of the Nimisha forest, Ayodhya, Chitrakuta, a holy place of the Aryas and Gomati are all great Tirthas. The great tirtha Vainayaka, the great Ramagiryashrama, the city of Kanchi, Tungabhadra, Srisaila, Setubandha Ramesvara, Kartikeya Tirtha, Bhrigutunga, Kamatirtha and Amarakantaka are holiest of all places. Mahakala in Ujjayini and Lord Sridhara in Kubjaka; the great Tirtha Kubjamraka and Kalasarpi fulfilling all desires, Mahakesi and Kaveri, Chandrabhaga (the Chenab) with Vipasa (the Beas), Ekamra and Brahmesa, Devakotaka, the beautiful city of Mathura, the great river Sona, the great Tirtha Jambusara (the lake Jambu) are all Tirthas that should be known because Surya, Siva, Ganesa, Devi and Hari stay there. The merit of bath, utterance of Mantras, penances, worship

ed with accessory structures upon which were lavished all the resources of art; while the necessities of monastic life led to the erection of *viharas* and *chaityas*, monasteries and churches, both rock-cut and structural. The *Pillars (lats)* at Delhi, Tirhut, Sankisa, Sanchi, etc.; the *chaitya-caves* and *viharas* at Bihar, Nasik, Ajanta, Ellora, Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Dhamnar, Udaigiri, Bagh, etc.; *stupas* of Manikyala, Sarnath, Sanchi and Amaravati; the *gateways* and *stone railings* at Barahat (Bharhut),

Śraddha and Pinda—offering for the departed practised at these and other holy places become eternal.

The great Tirtha of Pasupati (the Lord of animals) Salagrama will give everything. Varaha with a mouth like that of a Koka i.e., wolf and the banyan tree is called Svamin Mahavishnu in Mohadanda and Madhusudana in Mandara. Kamarupa is the great Tirtha where Kamakhya lives. At Punyavardhanaka Kartikaya lives and there are Tirthas named Virajanta and Sripurushottama. Mahendra mountain, the great river Kaveri, the Godavari and the Payoshni conferring boons, the Vindhya, the killer of sins, the most excellent variety of the Narmada, the supreme *tirtha* Gokarna, the city of Mahishmati, the best Kalanjara and Sukratirtha are all great holy places. Sarngadhari (Vishnu) in Dandaka grants purity and salvation. Virajatirtha confers everything and Svarnaksha is very great. Nanditirtha bestows emancipation and the merit of pilgrimage to crores of Tirthas. Nasikya is great and then comes Govardhana, Krishnaveni, Bhimarekha Gandaki, Iravati, Bindusara filled with the water of the feet of Vishnu (i.e. equal to Ganga), Sriranga of God Hari, Tapti and the greatest river Mahanadi, Saptagodavara (seven streamed Godavari), the mountain Kona and the river Parama where the Goddess Mahalakshmi resides.

Oh Indra! Devi, the chief of the goddesses, stays at Sahyadri.

After bathing at Gangadvara (the source of the Ganga), Kusavarta, Vindhya, Nilaparvata and Kanakhala one does not come to this world again (i.e., gets salvation).]

Mathura, Gaya, Sanchi and Amaravati; and lastly, the numerous Gandhara monasteries—all these, considering their widely-separated locations, point to the extensive area which was unified by a common artistic impulse, a single religious idea.

XI

We have now seen how the idea of the essential unity of the Indian world underlying its truly continental vastness and variety has seized the national consciousness and become one of its natural, integral contents. It is also clear that this particular consciousness could not be a sudden growth but required time for its development. Its evolution must naturally correspond at every stage to the evolution of geographical knowledge in the Indian mind. The perception of India as a single country must wait on an intimate geographical knowledge of the whole of India previously obtained. It is therefore necessary to trace the development of this geographical knowledge and mark out its successive stages.

XII

It goes without saying that in the Vedic age the geographical horizon embraced only a part of India. The extent and limits of Vedic India may be inferred from the river-hymn and other geographical data in the *Rig-Veda*. Mention is made therein of some twenty-five streams, all but two or three of which belong to the Indus river system. The word *Sapta-*

Sindhavah is once used to indicate Aryan India, the land of seven rivers, which are generally understood to mean the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the Indus and the Kabul, for which the Sarasvati was afterwards substituted. The easterly limit of the Aryan home is indicated by the reference in one or two places to the rivers Jamuna and Ganges. Thus the widest geographical extent of Vedic India was the country bounded "by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus and the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jamuna and the Ganges in the east."¹ The country beyond the Vindhya range and the Narmada river, which are not mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, was not known to the Vedic Aryans.

Later Vedic literature does not show any knowledge of Southern India. The passage in the *Aitareya Brahmana* [vii. 18], in which Visvamitra refers to the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements, only demonstrates that the Aryans were at that time acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

XIII

The examination of the available evidence shows that the colonisation of Southern India did not accomplish itself till the seventh century B.C. Panini, who

¹ Max Muller in *India: what can it teach us?* pp. 168, 174.

"must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still,"¹ mentions many places and rivers which mostly belong to the Punjab and Afghanistan. The most southerly places mentioned by him are Kachchha ([IV. 2, 133], Avanti [IV. 1, 176], Kosala [IV. 1, 171], Karusa² [IV. 1, 178], and Kalinga [IV. 1, 178].

The contemporary Pali literature points to the same conclusion. In one of the oldest Pali texts [the *Sutta-Nipata*, 976] occurs the expression Dakkinapatha,³ which does not mean the whole of modern Deccan, but only a remote settlement on the upper Godavari. The expression does not occur in any one of the four Nikayas. It occurs again in the later text [*Vin.* 1, 195, 196; 2, 298], but only to mean the same districts near the Godavari and in conjunction with Avanti. The Nikayas refer to sea-voyages out of sight of land [see my *History of Indian Shipping*, Part I., ch. III.] and to Kalinga and Dantapura near the coast, while the *Vinaya* to Bharukachchha [3, 38] and the *Udana* to Supparaka [1, 10]. The approximate geographical extent of the most ancient Buddhism (*i.e.*, about the time of Buddha) is stated *inter alia* in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, where are named the following chief towns as the dwelling-places of many

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Deccan*.

² Eastern portion of Shahabad district in Bihar.

³ Dakshinapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the south; the southern road' was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous expression for Northern India was Uttarapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the north, the northern road' which was of constant use, *e.g.*, in connection with Harshavardhana of Kanouj, who is called 'समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरपथेश्वरश्री-हर्षवर्द्धन,' the warlike lord of all the region of the North.

nobles, Brahmans and Vaisyas converted to Buddhism, viz., Champa, Rajagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi and Maga-Baranasi, comprising between them the kingdoms of Kasi-Kosala and Magadha, together with the territories now known as Oudh and Bihar. The same geographical extent may be inferred from the distribution of Buddha's relics among eight places as mentioned in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* [S. B. E., Vol. XI., pp. 129 ff], which are: Rajagaha, Vesali, Kapilavattu, Allakappa, Ramagama, Vethadipa, Pava, and Kusinara, besides the shrines erected by Drona the Brahmin and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. The extent of the whole of old Buddhist India may be similarly inferred from passages in some Pali books [e.g., *Anguttara*, 1. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; *Vinaya Texts*, 2. 146], which enumerate the sixteen principal political divisions of the country as follows: (1) Anga, (2) Magadha, (3) Kasi, (4) Kosala, (5) Vajji, (6) Malla (7) Cheti, (8) Vamsa, (9) Kuru, (10) Panchala, (11) Machchha, (12) Surasena, (13) Assaka, (14) Avanti, (15) Gandhara, and (16) Kamboja. Another similar list, indicating a slightly wider geographical extent, is to be found in the Govinda Sutta, 36 [*Digha-Nikaya*, XIX. 36], where the following seven provinces are distributed by the Brahman Govinda among King Renu and six other Kshatriya princes, viz., (1) Kalinga, with its capital Dantapura; (2) Assaka, with its capital Potana; (3) Avanti, with its capital Mahishmati; (4) Sovira, with its capital Roruka; (5) Videha, with its capital Mithila; (6) Anga, with its capital Champa; (7) Kasi, with its capital Baranasi.

The *Lalita-Vistara* [ch. III.] also mentions the existence of sixteen great States in the different coun-

tries of "Jambudvipa," and also names the following places and dynasties in connection with a discussion of their fitness as the birthplace of the Buddha, viz., (1) The Vaideha dynasty of *Magadha*; (2) the *Kosala* dynasty; (3) the *Vansaraja* dynasty, of which the Tibetan name is *Valsa*, with its capital Kausambi; (4) the city state of *Vaisali*; (5) the *Pradyotana* dynasty which ruled in *Ujjayini*; in the Chinese version it is called Mavanti, apparently a corruption of Avanti; (6) the city of *Mathura*, where ruled the race of King Kansa; (7) the city of *Hastinapura* of the Pandavas; (8) the city of *Mithila*; (9) the country of the *Sakyas* with its capital Kapilavastu, which was finally chosen as the fit birthplace for the Buddha. "He surveyed all the Kshatriya royal dynasties in the continent named *Jambu* and found all of them tainted except the Sakya race, which was devoid of all defect."

Again, in the tenth chapter of the same work where the Bodhisattva names the 64 kinds of writing there is a reference to the following places and tribes: (1) Anga, (2) Vanga, (3) Magadha, (4) the country of Sakari, (5) Brahnavalli, (5) Dravida, (7) Dakshina, (8) Ugra, (9) Darada, (10) Khasaya, (11) China, (12) the country of Huna.

All the above references, Sanskrit as well as Pali, show that the geographical horizon of the Indians between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods did not embrace Southern India and Ceylon, the knowledge and colonisation of which belonged to a later period.

XIV

Southern India first floats into the Indian geographical horizon at least as early as the fourth century B.C. If the whole of India was unknown to Panini, it was well-known to his commentator Katyayana, whom both popular tradition and modern scholarship assign to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas. Katyayana's reference to the derivatives Pandyas, Cholas and Mahishmat, supplements in reality both the grammar and geography of Panini.

There is also Greek evidence to show that the Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of India in the time of Alexander's invasion. According to Strabo [*Geographia*, ii 1, 6], Alexander "caused the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it." This account was afterwards lent to Patrokles, the satrap under Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus Soter, and was accepted as true by Eratosthenes and Strabo who on the basis of that account have given certain distances and dimensions about India which approximate to their modern measurements.

We also know from history how wide and deep was the geographical knowledge of the whole of India under the Maurya Emperor. Thus the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, which is generally attributed to Chanakya, the minister of Chandragupta, shows a good knowledge of the economic products of the various parts of India including the south. The trade-routes of India are divided broadly into two classes:¹ (1) the Northern, *i.e.*, those leading to the

¹ "हैमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छ्रेयान् हस्त्यश्वगन्धदन्ताजिनरूप्यसुवर्ण-
पण्यस्सारवत्तरा इत्याचार्याः ।

Himalayas and called Haimavatah; (2) the Southern called Daksinapathah. Of these the former are noted for their access to such commodities as elephants, horses, perfumes, skins, silver and gold, while the latter convey such valuable things as conchshells, diamond, precious stones, pearls and gold, of which the Tamil land is the famous and fertile source. Commercially the latter are therefore held to be more important than the former. Southern India is also recognised to be abounding in mines. Some of the rivers of Southern India and of Ceylon are mentioned as sources of pearls *e.g.*, Tamraparnika, Kula, Churna; and also some mountains, *e.g.*, Pandyaavataka, Mahendra. In the extreme north, some Himalayan villages are mentioned as the source of skins, *e.g.*, Visi, Mahavisi, Aroha, Bahlava and also Nepal as sources of blankets. Kambhoja (Afghanistan, the *Kaofu* of Hiuen Tsang), Sindhu (Sindh) and Aratta (Panjab, lit, land of the kingless) are also mentioned as source of the supply of horses. Among eastern countries are mentioned Vanga, Paundra, Suvarna-Kudyaka (probably Kamarupa, as suggested by the commentator), Magadha, Kasi and Kalinga, which were noted even in those early days for their cotton and silk fabrics. Anga, Karusa, Prachya and Kalinga are also mentioned as source of the supply of elephants. Madura in the south, Aparanta on the west, Mahisha in the Deccan are also mentioned for

नेति कौटिल्यः—कम्बलाजिनाश्चपण्यवर्जाः शङ्खवज्रमणिमुक्तास्सुवर्ण-
पण्याश्चप्रभूततराः दक्षिणापथे ।

दक्षिणापथेऽपि बहुखनिः ... ” Bk. VII. ch. 12.

their cotton fabrics. Surashtra is also mentioned for its supply of elephants and Sauvira for horses. Lastly, some countries outside India are also mentioned with which she had trade across the seas (Parasamudraka), e.g., Svarnabhumi noted for its perfumes, China for its silks (Chinapattah) and Arabia (Vanayu) for its horses.¹

The Edicts of Asoka also supply convincing evidence that the whole of India was known in his days. The southern independent kingdoms, such as the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra, are mentioned, together with the Andhras and Pulindas. There are also mentioned the border nations on the north-west, west and the Deccan such as the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas, Pitenikas (probably connected with Paithan), Nabhatas. The conversion of Ceylon by Mahendra may also be taken to be a historical fact, supported as it is by both northern and southern tradition.

Thus by the time of the Maurya Empire the knowledge of all parts of India was a common possession, a content of the popular geographical consciousness. And we accordingly find the contemporary and subsequent literature replete with geographical details.

XV

Patanjali (150 B.C.) shows considerable advance upon Katyayana and has intimate knowledge of the south. Besides mentioning Mahishmati [Mahabhashya on Pan. III. 1, 26], Vaidarbha [IV. 1, 4], Kanchi-

¹ See *Arthashastra*, pp. 50, 75–81. Mysore Ed.

pura [IV. 2, 2] and Kerala or Malabar [IV. 1, 175] he notices some lingual usages in the south [I. 1, 19].¹

It is difficult to ascertain the precise chronological value of the great epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as we have them now. Popular Hindu belief assigns to the *Ramayana*² an earlier date and is supported by the fact that it shows a much less knowledge of Southern India than the *Mahabharata*. Among the places lying to the south are mentioned Utkala, Kalinga, Dasarna [Bhilsa], Avanti and Vidarbha, which do not carry us very far beyond the line of the Vindhyas. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas the *Ramayana* mentions no other place but Dandakaranya. This state of geographical knowledge carries us back to the days of later Vedic literature before the 7th century B.C. Sugriva's descriptions, however, of places and peoples in the Kishkindha Kanda [Sargas 40-43] exhibit broadly the conception of India as a whole which is distinguished from parts forming what may be termed Greater India, as also from surrounding countries and nations.

That a *Mahabharata* existed before Panini is proved by his allusions to Vasudeva, Arjuna and Yudhishtira. The geographical horizon of the Epic as we have it now is indicated in the passage, among others, where Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pandyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas and Andhras

¹ अस्ति च लोके सरसीब्धदस्य प्रवृत्तिः दक्षिणापथेहि महान्ति सरांसि सरस्य इत्युच्यते

² The *Arthasastra* refers to the story of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* thus: “मानात् रावणः परदारानप्रयच्छन् दुर्योधनो राज्यादंशं च ।” [Mysore ed., p. 11.]

[Sabhap. ch. 31]. It is also indicated in the passage [Bhishmap. ch. 9], which enumerates the seven principal mountains of India and also by the list of some 200 rivers given in the tenth chapter of Bhishmaparva, where are mentioned the southerly rivers, Mahanadi Godavari, Krishna, Kaveri, Narmada, Krishnaveni, Vena, Tunga-Vena. The Bhishmaparva, chapter IX., mentions 157 peoples belonging to Northern India and 50 peoples belonging to the south of the Narmada. The Vanaparva, as has been already stated, affords interesting geographical data in the lists of holy places it gives. The holy places in the south mentioned are the Godavari, Vena, Payoshni, the Agastya-tirtha and the Varuna-tirtha, the Tamraparni and Gokarna-tirtha, the Kaveri and the Kanya-tirtha (probably Kanya Kumari, Cape Comorin). The itinerary of the Pandavas is also similarly interesting. It refers to such places as the Vaitarani in Kalinga, the Mahendra mountain where lived Parasurama, and the Pandya country whence they reached Surparaka.

Besides this intimate knowledge of the parts, the *Mahabharata* presents a conception of the whole of India as a geographical unit in the famous passage in the Bhishmaparva where the shape of India is described as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equal triangles, the apex of which is Cape Comorin and the base formed by the line of the Himalaya mountains. As remarked by Cunningham [*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 5], "the shape corresponds very well with the general form of the country, if we extend the limits of India to Ghazni on the north-west and fix the other two points of the triangle at Cape Comorin and Sadiya in Assam."

XVI

The geographical knowledge of the *Mahabharata* is followed up by all the Puranas, which are well-known for their detailed information regarding the places and peoples of India. They also present the conception of India as a geographical unit in their description of the country as made up of nine divisions, viz., Indra, Kaserumat, Tamraparna, Gabhastimat, Kumarika, Naga, Saumya, Varuna, Gandharva, which agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhaskaracharya [*Siddhantasiromani*, ch. III., 41].

Varahamihira [*Brihat - Samhita*, ch. XIV.], however, gives a different list of the Nine Division which deserves a more than passing notice for the wealth of topographical details it presents. It may be given as follows:—

I. Central Division: Tribes—Kurus, Panchalas, Pandus, Surasenas, Vatsas, etc. Towns—Mathura, Saketa. Rivers—Yamuna and Sarasvati.

II. Eastern Division: Tribes—Ambasthas, Kausalakas, Paudras, Pragjyotishas, Tamraliptikas and Utkalas. Countries—Kosala, Mithila, Kasi, Magadha, Pundra, Tamalipti, Samatata, Udra, etc.

III. South-eastern Division: Tribes—Chedikas, Dasarnas, Nishadas, etc. Countries—Anga (Chedi), Upavanga Vanga, Kalinga, Andhra, Vidarbha, etc. Mountains—the Vindyas.

IV. South Division: Tribes—Abhiras, Avantakas, Cheryas, Kairalakas, etc., mariners (वारिचर) etc. Countries—Avanti's beryl-mines (Vaidurya), Bharukachchha, Chitrakuta, places for obtaining conch-shells, Kanchi, Lanka, southern ocean, places for

obtaining pearls, Simhala, Talikata, Vellura, Chera, Chola, Kachchha, Karnata, Kerala, Konkana, etc. Forests—Dandakavana. Mountains—Dardura, Kusuma, Mahendra, Malaya, Malindya, Rishyamuka, Surpa, etc. Rivers—Kaveri, Krishna, Tamraparni and Vena.

V. South-west Division: Tribes—Abhiras, Aravas, Barbaras, Kiratas, Makaras, Pahlavas, Sindhus, Sauviras, Sudras, Yavanas, etc. Countries—Maharnava, Anarta, Dravida, Kambhoja, Parasava, Saurashtra, etc.

VI. Western Division: Tribes—Aparantakas, Haihayas, Mlechchhas, Sakas, Vaisyas, etc.

VII. North-west Division: includes Harahauras, Stri-rajya, and the river Venumati.

VIII. Northern Division: Tribes—Hunas, Kaikayas, Udichyas, etc. Towns—Pushkalavati, Takshasila. Countries—Gandhara, Uttarakuru. Mountains—Dhanushmat, Himavat, Kailasa, etc. River—Yamuna.

IX. North-east Division: includes Kasmira.

XVII

We may conclude the above account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge by a reference to the geography of Kalidasa. In the conquests of Raghu are mentioned (in the east), the Suhmas, the Vangas, the river Kapisa, the Utkalas, the Kalingas with the mountain Mahendra; in the south, the river Kaveri and, beyond it, the Pandyas with their pearls produced at the mouth of the Tamraparni, the mountains Malaya and Dardura, and, crossing them, the Keralas; on the west, crossing the Murala river, Aparanta between the Sahya range and the sea, the Parasikas; in the north, the Yavanas, the Hunas, the

Kambojas, the Kiratas and other hilly tribes near the Kailasa mountain; Pragjyotisha in the extreme east. In the *Meghaduta* the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Ramagiri to Alaka are the following: Satpura hills, Malava, the Reva (Narmada), Vidhya range, Dasarna, capital Vidisa, Ujjayini on the Sipra, river Gandhavati, Gambhira, Devagiri, Charmanvati, Dasapura, Kurukshetra, the Sarasvati, the Kankhala hill near the Ganges, the source of the Ganges, Mount Kailasa, Manasa lake and Alaka.

XVIII

We have now seen how the Indians in ancient times before the era of steam and mechanical locomotion possessed a thorough knowledge of the different parts, tribes and races of India welded together into a whole which was so essential to their realisation of the idea of the geographical unity of their vast country. We have also seen that it was not a mere intellectual conception or an abstract idea but a vivid realisation through the heart; not the happy hit of a momentary inspiration but the settled habit of national thought induced by religious texts and daily prayers.

But along with the influence of religion as explained above, there was also the influence of *politics* in producing this popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity. History records the names of many Indian rulers who succeeded in realising their ambition of establishing a suzerainty over the whole of India which was accordingly thought of and used as

a unit, as the common field of national activity. Such a ruler in older days was Harshavardhana, who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D. over an empire that embraced the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himalayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujarat and Surashtra, and won for itself recognition as a paramount power in the land. Such a ruler, too in yet older days was Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A.D., who carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the border of the Tamil country and thus achieved the political unification of a large part of India with an alliance extending from the Oxus to Ceylon. Such a ruler again in the past before the Christian era was Asoka the Great, one of the most illustrious in the illustrious roll of Indian Emperors, whose empire extended over the entire territory stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore, being "far more extensive than British India of to-day, including Burma" (V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 81), and became a self-conscious political power with active international relations. And such a ruler was also Chandragupta, wrongly supposed to be the first historical paramount Sovereign of India, under whom also India realised herself as a political unit as she was already by nature a geographical unit.

XIX

It is a mistake to suppose that Chandragupta was the first to introduce to Indian politics this conception of a single power dominating the whole country, for the idea was certainly much older than Chandragupta and was handed down from remote antiquity.

The conception of a Chakravarti Raja or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate kings has been one of the most familiar political notions of the ancient Hindus. Vedic literature furnishes a crop of terms for a paramount sovereign. These are:—

(1) *Adhiraja*, which occurs fairly often throughout the early literature to denote overlord among kings or princes. Thus it is found in the *Rig-Veda*, X. 128, 9; *Atharvaveda*, VI. 98, 1 and IX. 10, 24; *Taittiriya Samhita*, II. 4, 14, 2; *Maitrayani Samhita*, IV. 12, 3; *Kathaka Samhita*, VIII. 17; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, III. 1, 2, 9 (*udhirajan*); *Satapatha Brahmana*, V, 4, 2, 2; *Nirukta*, VIII. 2.

(2) *Rajadhiraja*, King of Kings, which is found in the later *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, I. 31, 6.

(3) *Samraj*, which is used to mean superior ruler, sovereign, expressing a greater degree of power than king. It occurs in the *Rig-Veda*, III. 55, 7; 56, 5; IV. 21, 1; VI. 27, 8; VIII. 19, 32; also in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*, V. 32; XII. 35; XX, 5, etc.; also in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 1, 1, 13 [cf. XII. 8, 3, 4; XIV. 1, 3, 8], where the *Samraj* is asserted to have a higher authority and rank than a king, and to have become one by the sacrifice of the *Vajapeya*. The epithet is also applied to Janaka of Videha in *Satapatha Brahmana*, XI, 3, 2, 1. 6; 2, 2, 3; and in *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, IV. 1, 1; 3, 1. It is applied in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII. 14, 2, 3, as the title of the Eastern kings, the kings of the Prachyas (suggestive of Magadhan imperialism). The title for the Southerners, the kings of the people called *Sattvats*, is Bhoja; that for the Western kings, the kings of the peoples called *Nichyas* and *Apachyas*, is *Svarat*; that

for the kings of the North, beyond the Himalayas, viz., the countries Uttara Kuru and Uttara-Madra, is *Virat*; and that for the kings of the middle country, viz., of the Kuru-Panchalas and Usinaras, is simply *Raja*.¹

(4) *Ekaraja*: meaning "sole ruler," "monarch." It is used metaphorically in the *Rig-Veda*,² VIII. 37, 3, but in the literal sense in the *Aitareya Brahmana*,³ VIII. 15, as well as the *Atharvaveda*,⁴ III. 1, 4, 1.

According to *Sukraniti* [I. 183–187, ed. Oppert],

¹ "साम्राज्याय तस्मादेतस्यां प्राच्यां दिशि ये के च प्राच्यानां राजानः साम्राज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादेतस्यां दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ये के च सच्यातां राजानो भौज्यायैव ते अभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादेतस्यां प्रतीच्यां दिशि ये के च नीच्यानां राजानो येऽपाच्यानां स्वाराज्यायैव ते अभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादेतस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा उत्तरां कुरव उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादस्यां ध्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ये के च कुरुपञ्चालानां राजानः सवशोशीनराणां राज्यायैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते राजेत्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षते ॥ ”

² “एकरालस्य भुवनस्य राजसि शचीपत इन्द्र विश्वाभिरूतिभिः । ”

³ “... पृथिव्यै समुद्र पर्यन्ताया एकराडिति । ”

⁴ “आ त्वागन् राष्ट्रं सह वर्चसोदिहि प्राङ् विशांपतिरेकराट्त्वं विराज,” which is thus paraphrased by *Sayana*: हे राजन् त्वां राष्ट्रं शत्रुभिराक्रान्तं स्वकीयं राज्यं पुनरागमत ततस्त्वं वर्चसा वलेन सह उदिहि उदितः प्रख्यातो भव ।

अनन्तरं प्राक् पूर्वं विशां प्रजानां सर्वासां पतिः पालकः सन् एकराट् निःसपत्नो मुख्यो राजा भूत्वा त्वं विराज विशेषेण दीप्यस्व ॥

the generic term *Nripati* (नृपति) embraces the following classes of kings arranged in an ascending scale of income and power, viz., Samanta (सामन्त), Mandaliika [माण्डलिक], Raja (राज), Maharaja (महाराजा), Samrat (सम्राट्), Virat (विराट्), and Sarvabhauma (सर्वभौम).

XX

Along with these terms for the suzerain there were also corresponding terms to indicate paramount power, sovereignty or overlordship. Thus the term *Rajya* is the general word denoting "sovereign power." It occurs in *Atharvaveda*, III. 4, 2; IV. 8, 1; XI. 6, 15; XII. 3, 31; XVIII. 4, 31. It also occurs in *Taittiriya Samhita*, II. 1, 3, 4; 6, 6, 5; VII. 5, 8, 3, etc.; in *Aitareya Brahmana*, VII. 23, etc., and *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana*, I. 4, 5. In some places the word *Svarajya*,¹ "uncontrolled dominion," is opposed to *Rajya*: e.g.,

' Might it not refer to republics or free states such, for instance, as those of the Licchavis, the Sakyas, the Mallas of Kusinara which were themselves also called by the name of *Rajya* (राज्य) with their Presidents called *Raja* (राजा)? Thus according to the *Arthashastra* [xi i, 160-161] the title *Raja* applies to the heads of the commonwealths of Lichchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala, etc. ("लिच्छिविकवृजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकुर-कुरु-पाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः । ")

What lends colour to the supposition is the reference in the *Aitareya Brahmana* to the kings of the Western peoples who were called *Svarat* as distinguished from the Eastern Kings known as the *Samrats*. For the free states and clans of ancient India, see Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 174.

Kathaka Samhita, XIV. 5; *Maitrayani Samhita*, I. II, 5 (cf. *Taittiriya Brahmana*, I. 3, 2, 2). The *Aitareya Brahmana* [VIII. 12, 4, 5, etc.] gives a whole series of terms to indicate various shades and degrees of sovereignty, viz.:—*Rajya*, *Samrajya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svarajya*, *Vairajya*, *Paramashthya*, *Maharajya*, *Adhipatya*, *Svavasya*. The term *Adhipatya* also occurs in *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, XV. 3, 35, and in *Chhandogya Upanishad*, V. 2, 6.¹

XXI

Next there were the well-known ceremonies² in connection with the coronations of emperors. These were generally the *Vajapeya* and the *Rajasuya*, the accounts of which as preserved in Vedic literature demonstrate how firmly the conception of an *Ekarat* (one-sovereign) India seized the popular mind. According to the *Satapatha Brahmana* [V. 1, 1. 13] and also *Katyayana Srauta Sutra* [XV. 1, 1, 2], the *Vajapeya* is the superior sacrifice because it bestows on the sacrificer paramount sovereignty (*Samrajya*), while the *Rajasuya* merely confers royal dignity (*Rajya*). In the words of the above-mentioned verse

¹ Among other terms preserved in Sanskrit literature to indicate paramount sovereignty are:—*Sarvabhauma* (सर्वभौम), *Rajaraja* (राजराज), *Visvarat* (विश्वराट्), *Chakravartti* (चक्रवर्त्ती), etc.

² An interesting and informing article on "Rituals at Hindu Coronation: its Constitutional Aspects," by Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, appeared in the *Modern Review* of January, 1912.

of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, "by offering the *Rajasuya* he becomes king, and by the *Vajapeya* (he becomes) emperor (*Samraj*); and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; but the emperors would not wish to become kings, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher."¹ According, however, to other authorities, the *Vajapeya* is the preliminary ceremony performed by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty *rajas*, this sacrifice being followed in due course by the installation and consecration ceremony, the *Rajasuya*. Thus, as laid down in *Asvalayana Srauta Sutra* [IX. 9, 19], "after performing the *Vajapeya* a king may perform the *Rajasuya*." With this rule would seem to accord the relative values assigned to the two ceremonies in the *Taittiriya Samhita* [V. 6, 2, 1] and the *Taittiriya Brahmana* [II. 7, 6, 1], according to which the *Vajapeya* is a *Samratsava* or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign, while the *Rajasuya* is called a "*Varunasava*," i.e., according to Sayana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by *Varuna* (cf. *Sankhyayana Srauta Sutra*, XV. 13, 4: "for it is *Varuna* whom they consecrate"). In much the same sense also we have doubtless to understand the rule in which *Latyayana* defines the object of the *Vajapeya* [VIII. 11. 1], viz., "Whomsoever the Brahmins and kings (or nobles)

¹ "राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्टा भवति । सम्राड् वाजपेयेनावरं हि राज्यं परं साम्राज्यं कामयेत वै राजा सम्राड् भवितुमवरं हि राज्यं परं साम्राज्यम् ।"

may place at their head, let him perform the Vajapeya.”¹ Among the rites peculiar to the Vajapeya, the most interesting is the chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which the sacrifice derives its name. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer (the king-elect) and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother Earth, followed by the seating on the throne, the symbol of sovereignty, “for he gains a seat above others” [*Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 2, 1, 24]. The ascent to the throne as a symbol of kingship is also mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* [III. 1, 4, 2], where the throne is most felicitously described as the highest point in the body politic (“*rastrasya kakudi srayasva*”). The sacrificer is then duly proclaimed King²: “All ruler is he, N. N.! All ruler is he, N. N.!” [*Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 2, 2, 15]. And also in the following words³: “Thine is this state, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—to thee the state is given for agriculture, for well-being, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal” [*ibid.* V. 2, 1, 25].

¹ “यं ब्राह्मणा राजानश्च पुरस्कुर्वीरन् स वाजपेयेन यजेत । ”

² “साम्राडयमसौ साम्राडयमसाविति निवेदितमेवैनमेतत् सन्तम् । ”

³ “इयं ते राडिति राज्यमेवास्मिन्नेतद् दधात्यथैनमासादयति यन्तासि यमन इति यन्तारमेवैनमेतद् यमन मासां प्रजानां करोति ध्रुवोऽसि धरुण इति ध्रुवमेवैनमेतद् धरुणमस्मिंल्लोके करोति कृष्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा रय्यै त्वा पोषाय त्वेति साधवे त्वेत्येवैतदाह । ”

XXII

The Rajasuya, or inauguration of a king, was a more complex ceremony, which consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of two years. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* [IV. 8, 1; XI. 7, 7] and later literature such as *Taittiriya Samhita* [V. 6, 2, 1], *Aitareya Bruhmana* [V. 1, 1, 12], etc. The rite is described at great length in the Sutas, but its main features are clearly outlined in the Brahmanas, especially in the *Satapatha*, and also in *Maitrayani Samhita* [IV. 3 1, etc.] *Taittiriya Samhita* [I. 8, 1, 1, etc.], while the verses used in the ceremony are preserved in the Samhitas of the Yajurveda, e.g. *Taittiriya Samhita* [I. 8], *Kathak Samhita* [XV.], *Maitrayani Samhita* [11. 6, and *Vajasanyai Samhita* [X.].

One of the most interesting features of the Rajasuya is the ceremony of the Ratnahavinsi or jewel offerings. The recipients of these offerings, the *ratninah*, were all the essential officers of the state representing its principal departments: they are, metaphorically, the "jewels" in the crown of sovereignty. They are mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana* [V. 3, 1, 3, etc.] in the following order: (1) Commander-in-chief (*senani*); (2) the king's court chaplain (*पुरोहित*); (3) the queen [*महिषी*]; (4) the court-minstrel and chronicler (*सूत*); (5) the head of the village community [*ग्रामणी*]; (6) the chamberlain [*क्षत्र*]; (7) the head of the treasury [*संग्रहीतृ*]; which is explained by Sayana as धनसंग्रहकर्त्ता कोशाध्यक्ष; (8) the collector of taxes and revenue (*भागदुघ*); (9) the superintendent of dicing [*अक्षावापा*]; (10) the

superintendent of games and forests (गो-निकर्त्तन), who, according to Sayana, was the constant companion of the king in the chase; and (11) the courier [पालगल]. There is another list given in the *Taittiriya Samhita* [I. 8, 9, 1, etc.] and *Brahmana* [I. 7, 3, 1, etc.] which omits Go-nikartana and the courier and includes Rajanya. Likewise the *Maitrayani Samhita* [II. 6, 5; IV. 3, 8] mentions Rajan, Vaisiyagramani and Taksa-ratha-karau,¹ i.e., the carpenter and chariot-maker (probably the representatives of industry). The *Kathaka Samhita* [XVI. 3] also gives the same list, but substitutes Go-vyachla and omits Taksa-ratha-karau.

These lists were a development out of the simple list given in the *Atharvaveda* [III. 5, 7] of the Raja kartris or Raja-krits who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king. These were the Suta, charioteer, the gramani, the village chief, and the people.² The word Raja-karta in the *Aitareya Brahmana* [VIII. 17, 5] is explained by the commentator to mean the king's father, brother, etc. It is, however, apparent from these lists of persons aiding

¹The Ratha-kara, chariot-maker, is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* [iii. 5, 6] as one of those who are to be subjects to the king, and seems to be regarded generally as a representative of the industrial population. He is also referred to in the *Yajurveda Samhitas* [e.g., *Kathak*, xvii. 13; *Maitrayani*, ii 9, 5; *Vajasaneyi*, xvi 17; xxx. 6] and in the *Brahmanas* [e.g., *Taittiriya*, i. 1, 4, 8; iii. 4, 2, 1; *Satapatha*, xiii. 4, 2, 17], and in all these passages he seems to be of a formed caste.

²Cf. *Atharvaveda* [iii. 1, 4, 2]:—

त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय “the people elect you to rulership.” In *Taittiriya Samhita* [ii. 3, 1, 3] the Vis clearly means the people.

in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function. The relation of jewels to the sovereign's crown must also be implied to be the relation subsisting between the king on the one hand and the state functionaries and other popular representatives on the other. Each is necessary for the other.

The next interesting feature in the Rajasuya was the Abhishechaniyam, the consecration ceremony. It begins with the offerings to the Divine Quickeners, viz., Savita Satyaprasava for righteous energy, Agni Grihapati for householders' prosperity, Soma Vanaspati for growth of trees (flora or agriculture), Brihaspati Vak for power of speech, Indra for lordship, governing capacity, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, and Varuna Dharmapati for protection of the law, since "that truly is the supreme state when one is lord of the law." Then follow the preparation of the consecration water, made up of no less than seventeen kinds (including the waters of dew, pond and sea); the sprinkling by a Brahman, a kinsman of the king-elect, a Kshatriya nobleman (rajanya) and a Vaisya; the investing of the king with the consecration garments and with bow and arrows, three in number, as emblem of sovereignty, so as "to make all the quarters safe from arrows for him"; the announcements of the kingship to all classes of people, the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, priesthood and nobility, and even animate and inanimate nature; the ascending of the quarters, East, South, West, North and upper region, so that "he is high above everything here and everything here is below him"; the anointing with the following

significant formula¹: “Quicken him, O Gods, to be unrivalled for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for the government of the people whose king he is—this man, O ye (Bharatah in the *Taittiriya Samhita*), is your king . . . !”

XXIII

Besides the Vajapeya and the Rajasuya, we find two other forms of the inauguration of great kings described in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. They are called Punaravisheka and Aindra-Mahabhisheka. The object of these special consecrations is thus described:—The priest who wishes that his Kshatriya king-elect should achieve all kinds of conquest, should know (by governing) all peoples, should attain to a position of leadership, precedence and superiority among kings, should secure sovereignty, a dominion of righteousness, absolute independence, highest distinction as a ruler, fulfilment of highest desires, the widest empire and highest authority, that he might be a universal overlord, with his powers reaching everywhere up to the limits of the sea, the sole master of his vast dominion—such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra’s great inauguration ceremony, demanding from him a promise on oath

¹ असपत्नं सुवद्धमितीमं देवा अभ्रातृव्यं सुवद्धमित्येवैतदाह महते क्षत्राय महते ज्यैष्ठ्येति नात्र तिरोहितमेवास्ति महते जानराज्यायेति महते जनानां राज्यायेत्येवैतदाहेन्द्रस्येन्द्रियायेति वीर्य्यायेत्येवैतदाह यदा हेन्द्रस्येन्द्रियायेति । [*Satapatha*, v. 4, 2, 3.]

that he will lose everything, even the accumulated fruits of his good deeds, all he has, even his life, if he attempts violation of right and truth.¹

XXIV

The elaboration of the rituals connected with these imperial inaugurations,² which it is unnecessary to follow in greater detail for our present purpose, indicates without doubt the nature of the political environment in which it was developed, the height of the ideal which kingship in India had realised in practice. The geography of India has indeed partially influenced her history: her vast expanse had practically no limits in the eyes of the early settlers and colonisers; she was a world unto herself. An infinite stretch of territory produced a psychology, a philosophy that was easily dominated by a sense of

१ अहं सर्वेषां राज्ञां श्रेष्ठ्यमतिष्ठां परमतां गच्छये साम्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं महाराज्यं आधिपत्यमहं समन्तप-
र्य्यायीस्यां सार्वभौमः सार्वायुष आन्तादापराद्धात् पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्य्य-
न्ताया एकराडिति ।

² Along with the ceremonies of the Vajapeya, Rajasuya, and Asvamedha should also be noticed the institution of Digvijaya, which was inseparable from the conception of a paramount sovereign in the popular Hindu mind. Sanskrit literature, epic, pauranic or classical, is full of references to this institution, and the more prominent examples of Digvijaya are those of Satrugna, Arjuna (see *Jaimini Bharata*), Raghu (see *Raghuvamsa*), Pushpamitra (see *Malavikagnimitra*), Samudra Gupta, Harsa-vardhana, Gautamiputra Satakarni, Pulakesi II, Lalitaditya of Kashmir (see *Raja-Tarangini*), etc.

the infinite and eternal.¹ The Hindu Rishi would recognise no limits to the development of his finite self. The Hindu king would also set no bounds to his political ambition. It was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which was reduced by the actualities of the objective environment into the sovereignty of the whole of India “up to the limits of the ocean.” The highest class in the hierarchy of Hindu kings was made up of those who were Asamudrak-sitisa [“आनमुद्रक्षितीश”]. As the *Aitareya Brahmana* puts it: “Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries, it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas” (VIII. 4, 1). Thus it was again his religion which put before the Hindu king the ideal of making the area of authority co-extensive with that of territory. The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis and is in turn emphasised by it.

XXV

Side by side with these ideals and conceptions of an all-India overlordship, the books also preserve for us traditional lists² of kings who are said to have

¹ For a similar sentiment, cf. Sister Nivedita's *The Web of Indian Life*, p. 143.

² A comparative study of these lists in Sanskrit Literature will however, tend to establish the historicity of those Indian great kings who preceded Chandragupta Maurya, the so-called *first* paramount sovereign of India. This should prove a very fruitful line of investigation.

succeeded in realising them in life—giving another proof that at least the conception of India, both as a political and geographical unit, was not foreign to Hindu consciousness. Such a list is to be found in the *Aitareya Brahmana* [VIII. 14, 4; 19, 2] and mentions the following great kings, each of whom achieved the singular distinction of “subjugating the whole country up to its farthest limits in every direction”:—

(1) Janamejaya Parikshita with his priest Tura Kavaseya.

(2) Saryata Manava with his priest Chyavana Bhargava.

(3) Satanika Satrajita with his priest Somasusma Vajaratnayana.

(4) Ambasthya with his priests Parvata and Narada.

(5) Yudhansrausti Augrasenya with the priests Parvata and Narada.

(6) Visvakarma Bhauvana with his priest Kasyapa.

(7) Sudas Paijavana with his priest Vasistha.

(8) Marutta Aviksita with his priest Samvarta.

(9) Anga Vairochana with his priest Udamaya Atreya. He is said to have made to his priests gifts of innumerable cows, 80,000 white horses, 10,000 elephants, etc.

(10) Bharata Dausmanti with his priest Dirghatama Mamateya. He is also said to have given away (i) innumerable elephants of black colour with white tusks and golden trappings in the country of Masnara; (ii) innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmins of the country named Sachiguna. He is also said to have kept 78 horses in a place on the Yamuna, and 55 in the place named Vritraghna on the Ganges for pur-

poses of his horse-sacrifices, and thus subdued the enemy's power. As the heavens are inaccessible to human hands, so was the height of Bharata's achievements to all classes of men—viz., the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Nishadas (Sayana). It was this Bharata after whom Bharatavarsha was named as mentioned above.

(ii) Durmukha Panchala with his priest Brihaduktha.

(12) Atyarati Janantapi with his priest Vasistha Satyahavya. This king was afterwards deprived of his power for his breach of faith with his priest and was killed by his enemy Saivya Sushmina. The land of Uttarakuru is also referred to as unconquerable in the story.

Besides the list of great kings in the *Aitareya Brahmana* there is another list to be found in the *Satapatha Brahmana* [XIII. 5, 4] of kings who performed the horse-sacrifice and were therefore recognised as paramount sovereigns. For the Asvamedha, as is well known, involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation. The ruling of the *Apastamba Srauta Sutra* [XX. 1, 1] on the point may be quoted: "A king governing the whole land [Sarvabhauma सार्वभौम] may perform the Asvamedha."¹ The list of these Asvamedhins is given as follows:—

¹ "राजा सार्वभौमोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत ।

The Asvamedha sacrifice was performed in the following manner:—"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative,

1. Janamejaya Parikshita with his Rishi Indrota Daivapa Saunaka.

2. Bhimasena
3. Ugrasena
4. Srutasena

} the Parikshitas

5. Para Atnara, the Kausalya king.

6. Purukutsa, the Aiksaka king.

7. Marutta Aviksita, the Ayogava king.

8. Kraivya, the Panchala king ("the Panchala overlord of the Krivis").

followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished Rajas in his train; but if he failed he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held at which the horse was sacrificed [Dowson, *Classical Dict.*]. In the Asvamedha of Yudhisthira the horse is guarded in its year's roaming by Arjuna, who first presses eastwards towards the sea, then turning southwards along the eastern shore as far as the extreme point of the peninsula, turns northwards on the homeward way, passing along the western coast.

The historical list of Asvamedhins includes the following names: (1) Pushyamitra [see *Malavikagnimitra* Act V.]; (2) Samudra Gupta [see Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandra-Gupta II., L. 5; Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumara Gupta, L. 2, &c.]; (3) Kumara Gupta I. and (4) Adityasena [see V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 295]. On some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudra Gupta, there occurs the legend asvamedha-parakramah [अश्वमेध-पराक्रम] "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice." [See J. A. S. B. Volume LIII., Part I., p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii., No. 9; and Arch. Sur. West. Ind., Vol. II., p. 37f., and Pl. vii., No. 4.] Pulakesi I., the Chalukyan King, is also said to have performed a great Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. [See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 37.]

9. Dhvasan Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas.

10. Bharata Daushyanti ("who attained that wide sway which now belongs to the Bharatas"). He is said to have bound 78 steeds on the Yamuna and 55 near the Ganga and conquered the whole earth (cf. *Aitareya Br.* above).

11. Risava Yajnatura.

12. Satrasaha, the Panchala king.

13. Satanika Satrajita.

The *Sankhayana Srauta Sutra* [XVI. 9] also preserves a similar list of Asvamedhins, which includes the following kings:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Janamejaya | } Parikshitas. |
| 2. Ugrasena | |
| 3. Bhimasena | |
| 4. Srutasena | |
| 5. Risava Yajnatura. | |
| 6. Vaidcha Alhara. | |
| 7. Marutta Avikshita. | |

XXVI

These lists of great kings preserved in Vedic literature are also supplemented by other lists in the Puranas and other works. The *Kurma Purana* [XX. 31] mentions King Vasumana; the *Padma Purana* mentions King Dilip and his predecessors Manu, Sagara, Marutta and Yayati [IV. 110–118]; while the *Agni Purana* [ch. 219, 50–51] mentions Prithu, Dilipa, Bharata, Vali, Malla, Kakustha, Yuvanasva, Jayadratha, Mandhata, Muchukunda, Pururavah. The *Brahma Purana* mentions Pururavah,

who is called Prithivipati¹ [पृथिवीपति], Bhima, called Rajarat,² Yayati,³ who subdued the earth up to the seas, Kartavirya-Arjuna,⁴ who is called Samrat-chakravartti. The *Brahmanda Purana* mentions Prithu.⁵ The *Markandeya* mentions Pururavah⁶ as Chakravartti and Marutta.⁷ The *Siva Purana* mentions Chitraratha,⁸ Prithu⁹ as Chakravartti, and Harischandra¹⁰ as Samrat. The *Linga Purana* mentions Yayati,⁵ Kartavirya-Arjuna,¹² Sasavinda,¹³ and Usana.¹⁴ The *Skanda Purana* mentions Kartavirya¹⁵ as Samrat Chakravartti. The *Bhagavata Purana* mentions Mandhata¹⁶ and Sagara¹⁷ as Chakravartti and Muchukunda¹⁸ as Akhandabhumipa. The *Devipurana* uses the word Ekarat¹⁹ in respect of a Daitya named Ghora. The *Vishnu Purana* mentions Sagara,²⁰ Chandra,²¹ Bharata,²² Mahapadma Nanda,²³ and Chandragupta.²⁴ The *Vayu* mentions Sagara,²⁵ Kartavirya-Arjuna²⁶ and Usana.²⁷ The *Matsya* mentions Pururavah²⁸ and Puru,²⁹ the son of Yayati.

The *Mahabharata* in many places refers to the great Indian kings of old. A complete enumeration of them is contained in the Santiparva [ch. XXIX.], where the following kings are named:—

1. Marutta, son of Avikshita.
2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.

¹ X. 9.⁴ XIII. 174.⁷ CXXXII. 3, 4.¹⁰ LXI. 21.¹³ LXVIII. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*¹⁶ IX. vi. 34.¹⁹ II. 39.²² XIX. iv. 2.²⁵ LXXXVIII. 144.²⁷ XCV. 23.² X. 13.⁵ LXIX. 1, 2, 3.⁸ XXIV. 34, 35.¹¹ LXVI.¹⁵ *Pravasa-Khanda*, XX. 11, 12.¹⁷ *Ibid.* 4.²⁰ III. iv. 17.²³ XXIV. iv. 5.²⁶ XXIV. II.³ XII. 18.⁶ CXI. 13.⁹ *Ibid.* 65, 66¹² LXVIII.¹⁸ X. li. 14.²¹ VI. iv. 6.²⁴ XXIV. iv. 7.²⁸ XCIV. 9.²⁹ XXXIV. 25.

3. Brihadratha, the King of the Angas.

4. Sivi, the son of Usinara, "who swayed the whole earth as one sways the leathern shield, and the wheels of whose victorious chariot rolled unopposed over the whole earth, who brought the whole earth under one authority,"¹ etc.

5. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, who as stated above in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, sacrificed three hundred horses on the banks of the Yamuna, twenty on the Sarasvati, and fourteen on the Ganga.²

6. Rama, son of Dasaratha.

7. Bhagiratha of Ikshvaku dynasty.

8. Dilipa.

9. Mandhata, son of Yuvanasva, who subdued the whole earth and vanquished the following kings, viz., Angara, Marutta, Asita, Gaya and Brihadratha, the King of the Angas,³ and on whose wide empire "the sun never sets."

¹ य इमां पृथिवीं सर्वा चर्म्मवत् समवेष्टयत् ।

महता रथघोषेण पृथिवीमनुनादयन् ।

एकच्छत्रां महीं चक्रे जैत्रेणेकरथेन यः ॥

² यो वद्धा त्रिशतं चाश्वान् देवेभ्यो यमुनामनु ।

सरस्वतीं विंशतिञ्च त्वङ्गामनु चतुर्दश ॥

³ तमिमं पृथिवी सर्वा एकाहासमपद्यत ।

यश्चाङ्गारस्तु नृपतिं मरुत्तमसितम् गयम् ।

अङ्गं बृहद्रथञ्चैव मान्धाता समरेऽजयत् ॥

* * *

यत्र सूर्य उदेतिस्म यत्र च प्रतितिष्ठति ।

सर्वं तद्यौवनाश्वस्य मान्धातुः क्षेत्रमुच्यते ॥

10. Yayati, son of Nahusha, who conquered the whole earth up to the seas and performed a hundred Vajapeyas.¹

11. Ambarisha, the son of Nabhaga, the king of innumerable kings.²

12. Sasavindu, the son of Chitraratha.

13. Gaya, the son of Amurtharayas.

14. Rantideva, son of Saukriti.

15. Sagara of Ikshvaku dynasty, whose sway extended over the whole earth.³

16. Prithu, the son of Vena.

The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya also gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord and a list of kings who realised that ideal. The paramount sovereign is called *chaturanto raja* [चातुरन्तो राजा] [Mysore edition, p. 11], i.e., whose dominion extends up to the farthest limits in the four quarters of the country; he is also represented as governing the country with none to dispute his right [“अनन्यां पृथिवीं भुंक्ते”] [*ibid.*]. His dominion (*chakravartti kshetram*

¹ य इमां पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां विजित्य सह सागराम् ।

व्यभजत् पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां ययातिर्नहुषात्मजः ॥

[94,197]

² यः सहस्रं सहस्राणां राज्ञामयुतयाजिनाम् ।

शतं राजसहस्राणि शतं राजशतानि च
सर्वेऽश्वमेधैरीजानास्तेऽन्वयुर्दक्षिणायनम् ॥

[101,103]

³ एकच्छत्रा मही यस्य प्रतापादभवत् पुरा ।

चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्) is specially defined as the country between the Himalayas and the ocean, which is an evident reference to Chandragupta's sovereignty (हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरं चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रं) (Mysore ed., p. 33). There is a list of kings which includes the following names : (1) Dandiyakya-Bhoja, (2) Vaideha-karala, (3) Janamejaya, (4) Talajangha, (5) Aila, (6) Ajavindu-Sauvira, (7) Ravana, (8) Duryodhana, (9) Dambodbhava, (10) Haihaya-Arjuna, (11) Vatapi. These kings all failed to be great because of their want of self-control and subjection of the senses. Among the successful great kings are named Amba-risha and Nabhaga [see pp. 11, 12, Mysore ed.].

XXVII

Following this long line of great Indian kings we come across the illustrious name of Yudhishtira, who proclaimed his overlordship and paramount-power before the Imperial Durbar at Indraprastha, to which were invited kings from the remotest parts of India and beyond to render him homage and realise the unity of that vast empire into which were federated their smaller kingdoms. For the *Mahabharata* preserves for us a picture of India that was divided politically into innumerable small states, kingdoms and republics, whose mutual jealousies and animosities afterwards culminated in the Great War of the *Mahabharata*. It was left to the superior power of Yudhishtira to arrest these disruptive tendencies for a time by the evolution of a peaceful confederation in which every state was kept in its proper sphere and orbit to

promote the larger life of the whole. That this task of political reconstruction was not an easy one, that the ancient Shastric ideal of kingship of bringing the whole country "up to the sea" under the yoke of a common authority was difficult to achieve was thus recognised by Yudhishtira [Sabha parva, XV. 2]: "There are kings everywhere living independently, doing what they like, but they have not attained to the rank of emperor, for that appellation is difficult to obtain."¹ The situation was indeed full of difficulties. There were powerful kings on every side aiming at overlordship. To the north there was Hastinapura, the capital of the Kurus. To the east Mathura was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south the King of Malava was a standing menace, and to the west there was the principality of Virata equally ambitious. There were other mighty kings in different parts of India, but the most powerful of them was Jarasandha, King of Magadha, who aspired to suzerainty. His subjugation was the first achievement of the Pandus in their career of an all-India conquest, and four grand military expeditions were then organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the northern advance, and to his might fell victims the Kulin-das, the Kalakutas, the Avarthas, the Svakala-dvipis; Bhagadatta of Pragjyotisha; the Himalayan chiefs such as those of Uluka, Modapura, Vainadeva, Sudaman, Susankula, Devaprastha, etc.; also the Kiratas and the Chinas. Arjuna then turned towards the west through Kashmir to Balkh and, on his way back,

¹ "गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः ।

न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते सम्राट्शब्दो हि कृच्छ्रभाक् ॥"

through Kamboja, Darada, etc. Across the Himalayas were encountered the kings of Kimpilla-varsha and Halaka near Manasa lake and, lastly, Uttarakuru. The second expedition was led by Bhima towards the east, subduing Drupada, Dasarna, the Pulindas, Chedi, Kosala, Ayodhya, Uttara Kosala, Urulla and the Terai; then Kasi, the Matsyas, the Maladas, Madadharas, the Vatsabhumiyas, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kirata and other races. Mithila courted alliance and Magadha paid tribute. Then the country of Karna (Bhagalpur) was subdued and subsequently the petty chiefs of Vanga. The southern advance was under Sahadeva, who similarly marched victorious through many petty kingdoms and, crossing the Narmada, passed through Kishkindha, Mahishmati to Southern India, securing the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipatanam, Tamra island, Timingila (the country of the whale), Kalinga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Talavana, Ceylon and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Gujarat, and finally returned home, laden with wealth and presents. Nakula, leading the western expedition, passed through Rohitaka and thence Southern Rajputana to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambastha, Malava, Panchkaiphatas, Madhyamaka, Vatadhana; thence he turned towards Pushkara and, through the Abhira country, marched on to the Punjab and encountered in the north-west the Pallavas, Barbaras, Kiratas, Yavanas and the Sakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents and acknowledgment of allegiance.

Thus the whole of India for the time resounded with the din of the conquering marches of the Pandavas asserting the authority of a superior power; the

whole country was united in submission to a sovereign claiming its homage and alliance. India once again was imagined and used as a political unit; the different parts were integrated into a federal whole: the separated lives of the provinces were united in a common life.

XXVIII

The story of Yudhishtira known to every Hindu has accordingly immensely popularised the old Vedic conception of an all-India sovereignty of which Yudhishtira was such a prominent embodiment. The idea became one of the current political notions of the ancient Hindus, not a subject of thought but an integral part of thought. It lost none of its strength in later times. It had sufficient vitality to stamp its impress on the earliest Buddhist thought. We are generally familiar with the influences of Hinduism on Buddhism; we know how Buddhism is rooted deep in the religious speculation of the Hindus. But we do not know that some of the fundamental religious conceptions of the Buddhists were inspired by Hindu *political* thought as distinguished from Hindu religious thought.

For the early Buddhist ideas of the Buddha were dominated by the then prevailing Hindu ideal of the chakravarti Raja to which the Buddha was always thought and described to conform. The Hindu ideal was understood by the Buddhist and explained in the early Suttas to be that of "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four

quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures.”¹

The first of these treasures was the treasure of the wheel which is represented to roll onwards, like the sun in old Vedic poetry, to the very extremities of the world conquering and to conquer.² The second treasure of the King of Kings is the white elephant which can carry its master across the broad earth to its very ocean boundary like the Airavata of Indra, “the personification of the great white, fertilising rain-cloud so rapid in its passage before the winds of the monsoon over the vault of heaven.” The third treasure of the horse, probably also derived from the Vedic “charger-King whose name was thunder-cloud.” The fourth was the treasure of the gem called the *Veluriya* (from which the word *beryl* is probably derived), “the splendour of which spread round about a league every side,” like the jewel of lightning with which Indra in the Vedas slays the demon of darkness. Fifthly, the King of Kings is the possessor of a pearl among women; and the two last treasures are a *treasurer* and an *adviser*, faithful servants, like the pearl among women, of the king of kings.

Such a king of kings the early Buddhists saw in Buddha who became the ruler of a supernatural

¹ *Maha-Sudassana Sutta* in S. B. E., Vol. xi., p. 248.

² Cf. *Rig-veda* [vii. 32, 20]: “The much-lauded Indra I incline by means of the song as a cartwright bends the rim of a wheel made of good wood”; and also [i. 32, 35] “the lightning in his hand rules over all men as the rim of a wheel embraces the spokes.” In the Sutta the wheel is represented to have rolled towards the East, South, West and North followed by the Emperor to whom “all rival kings became subject.”

world,¹ an empire of truth; whose wheel was the wheel of the Dharma which the King of Righteousness himself had set rolling onwards, that wheel which will roll over all the world, unchecked in its course; whose Prime Minister was his chief disciple Sariputta; and whose teaching, like rain-cloud, rained down the ambrosia of bliss, fertilising right desires, extinguishing the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance.

Thus the old Hindu conception of a paramount overlordship having reference to an actual empire was seized by early Buddhist thought to describe its achievement which resulted in the foundation of an ideal empire, the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men. The Hindu Chakravartti was he who made the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world; the wheel was the symbol of his power. But Buddha was a different kind of Chakravartti: he who set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness. His wheel was the symbol not of power but of Dharma. His work is accordingly described as *Dhamma chakkappavattana*, which is the name given to the famous Sutta in which is embodied the very essence of Buddha's teachings.²

XXIX

It is thus abundantly clear that in the days of

¹ Cf *Selasutta* in *Suttanipata* [III. 7, 7]: "A King am I, Sela, the King Supreme Of Righteousness. The royal chariot wheel In righteousness do I set rolling on— that wheel that no one can turn back again."

² See Rhys Davids *Hibbert Lecture*, pp. 129 and 4, *Buddhism*, pp. 45, 46, 220, and S. B. E., Vol. XI.

ancient Buddhism the whole of India was comprehended as a single territory to be brought within the scope of one all-embracing authority though the conception was expanded and idealised by Buddhist religious fervour. And Chandra Gupta was thus not the first to conceive and realise the ideal of paramount sovereignty, but only came into the possession of a rich inheritance which his genius utilised and improved to the fullest extent. His success naturally contributed a good deal to the strength and popularity of the ideal he represented and realised. The problem "*How can a king become a king of kings?*" soon became a favourite familiar topic of discussion in the ancient schools of political thought. It gave rise to much scientific, systematic speculation, which was embodied in the theory of the Mandala or Circle of Kings as outlined in the works on Niti-Sastra. We find expositions of this theory both in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and the *Niti-Sastra* of Kamandaka in which there are also references to earlier authorities. The theory postulates the natural inevitable desire of small kings to become great and finds in that instinct the regulative principle or law which rules the political world in almost the same sense as gravitation rules the physical; which determines the evolution of states and the growth of empires and establishes a stable equilibrium and a balance of power.

The whole country is conceived of as a political circle [मण्डल] at the centre of which is the head [मण्डलाधिप], who is technically called Vijigishu [विजिगीषु], the would-be conqueror, who is to emerge as the paramount power dominating the

system, who "shines in his sphere like the full moon."¹ The normal political circle is that formed by twelve kings,² including the central victorious king or sovereign, round whom are ranged, both in the front and rear, nine subordinate kings in varying degrees of friendliness and hostility, and two neutral kings (called मध्यम and उदासीन). This confederation of twelve kingdoms connected with one another by all possible kinds of political relationship is regarded as an approximation to the actual state of things, a map of the actual political situation, showing also its possible developments due to all conceivable changes of attitude of the component units. Thus the variations of the normal political system have been noticed by the ancient authors of polity. Kautilya³ mentions a confederation or circle of three kings who may constitute a "sphere of influence"; Maya⁴ of four kings [चतुष्कमण्डल]; Puloma⁵ of six kings; Brihaspati⁶ of eighteen kings; and Visalaksha⁷ of fifty-four kings, and so forth. Thus the central monarch will find his sphere of action embracing both friendly and hostile kingdoms,⁸ but if he is self-possessed, strong in all

¹ *Kamandaki*, VIII. 2, 3.

रथी विराजते राजा विशुद्धे मण्डले चरन्
रोचते सर्वभूतेभ्यः शशीवाखण्डमण्डलः ।

² सर्वलोकप्रतीतं तु स्फुटं द्वादशराजकम्....[*Ibid.* 41.]

³ "विजिगीषुमित्रं मित्रमित्रं वाऽस्य प्रकृतयः तिस्रः ।"

[*Arthashastra*, VI, ii. 17.]

⁴ *Kamandaki*, VIII. 20

⁵ *Ibid.* 71.

⁶ *Ibid.* 26.

⁷ *Ibid.* 28.

⁸ *Ibid.* 21: "आकीर्णं मण्डलं सर्वं मित्रैररिभिरेव च ।"

the elements of sovereignty, he is bound to achieve preeminence and attain to suzerainty [एकैश्वर्य्य) ¹ by his superior policy and statecraft, which by a proper manipulation of the various political forces can easily render his own position invincible, supreme and paramount.²

¹ *Arthasatra*, V., vi., 14, 15. The "elements of sovereignty" are " स्वाम्यमाल्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि, " i.e., the king, the minister, the country (which by the way should have capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom— " मध्ये चान्ते च स्थानवान्"), the fort, the treasury, the army, and the ally.

² Cf. *Kamandaki*, VIII. 83:

इति स्म राजा नयवर्त्मना ब्रजन्
समुद्यमी मण्डलशुद्धिमाचरन् ।
विराजते साधु विशुद्धमण्डलः
शरच्छशीव प्रतिनन्दयन् प्रजाः ॥

Also *Arthasastra*, VI. i. 17:

“आत्मवांस्त्वल्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृति-सम्पदा ।
नयज्ञः पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां जयत्येव न ह्रीयते ॥”

Again [VI. ii. 17]:

नेमिकान्तरान् राज्ञः कृत्वा चानन्तरानरान्
नाभिमात्मानमायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥

[“The leader of the confederation or circle of states will make himself the nave of a wheel, of which the rim or circumference will be formed by the combination of friendly chiefs (lit., those kings who are separated from the central king by another king) and the spokes by the inimically inclined chiefs and will thus control the whole system.”]

XXX

But the ideal of a paramount sovereign dominating the whole of India, besides expressing itself in literature, utters itself in no uncertain tones through some of the early Indian epigraphic records. Thus the term Maharaja [महाराज], *lit.*, a great king, was used as one of the titles of paramount sovereignty by Kaniska, Huviska, and Vasudeva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83.¹ It is also used, in conjunction with the higher title of Rajatiraja, "superior king of kings," by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87.² In still earlier days the same title Maharaja, in conjunction sometimes with the title Rajatiraja and sometimes with Rajaraja [राजराज], "king of kings" (the two together being equivalent to the Greek *basileus basileon*), was used on the bilingual coins of Hemokadphises³ (in conjunction with Rajatiraja) and of Azes⁴ (in conjunction with Rajaraja). It was also used by itself to represent the Greek *basileus* on the coins of Hermaeus. The title Rajadhiraja occurs by itself on some of the coins of Maues⁵ and in conjunction with the title Maharaja on some of the coins of

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 31, Pl. XIII., No. 4; p. 32, Pl. XIV., No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. XV., No. 16.

² *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 33, Pl. XIV., No. 12 and p. 35, Pl. XV., No. 18.

³ Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 124 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17.

Azes¹ while Rajatiraja occurs in the same sense but coupled with Maharaja in the Mathura inscription of Huviska² of the year 47 and of Vasudeva³ of the year 87.

In the inscriptions of the Guptas the following titles are used to indicate supreme paramount sovereignty, viz., Maharajadhiraja [महाराजाधिराज], Paramesvara [परमेश्वर], Paramabhattaraka [परमभट्टारक], Rajadhiraja (राजाधिराज) and Chakravartin (चक्रवर्तिन्). Thus the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to him as "the Maharajadhiraja, the glorious Samudra Gupta," and to his "conquest of the whole world." It also refers to him as "the son of the Maharajadhiraja, the glorious Chandra Gupta I" and "the Mahadevi Kumaradevi,"⁴ and also to Chandra Gupta II as Paramabhattaraka."⁵ The Eran stone inscription of Samudra Gupta compares him with the great ancient monarchs Prithu and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157.

² *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 33, No. 12, and Pl. XIV.

³ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 35, No. 18, and Pl. XV.

⁴ ".... महाराजाधिराजश्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य-महादेव्यां-कुमार-देव्यां-उत्पन्नस्य - महाराजाधिराज - श्री - समुद्रगुप्तस्य - सर्व्वपृथिवी - विजय-जनितोदय - व्याप्त - निखिलावणी - तलम् ..."

Mahadevi was a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns along with Paramabhattarika and Rajni [cf. Mandar Hill Inscriptions of Adityasena, Nos. 44 and 45 and Deo. Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 in *Corpus. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III.]

⁵ L. 33 of the inscription.

Raghava,¹ and refers to his subjugation of "the whole tribe of kings upon the earth."²

The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra Gupta II refers to him as Paramabhattacharaka and Maharajadhiraja. The Mathura stone inscription of Chandra Gupta II refers to both Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta I as Maharajadhiraja, and to himself as the exterminator of all kings, who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world and whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans,³ and who was the restorer of the asvamedha-sacrifice that had been long in abeyance. The Sanchi stone inscription of Chandra Gupta II also refers to him as Maharajadhiraja, who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles.⁴ Another Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra Gupta II refers to the purchase-money of his prowess which bought the earth and made slaves of all kings,⁵ and uses the epithet Rajadhiraja. The Gadhwā stone inscription of Chandra Gupta II refers to him as Maharajadhiraja.⁶

¹ L. 8—'नृपतयः पृथु राघवाद्याः...'

² L. 11—'पार्थिव गणस्सकलः पृथिव्यां....'

³ L. 1, 2—

'सर्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलिला-स्वादित-यशसो...' L. 5—'अश्वमेधाहर्तु....'

⁴ L. 4—

"....अनेक समरावाप्त विजय यशस् पताकाः...."

⁵ L. 2—

"विक्रम-आवक्रय-क्रीडांदास्य-न्यक्भूत-पार्थिवा...."

⁶ L. 1 and L. 10.

Kumara Gupta is referred to as Maharajadhiraja in the two Gadhwa stone inscriptions,¹ also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription,² which applies the epithet to his ancestors Chandra Gupta II.,³ Samudra Gupta,⁴ and Chandra Gupta I., and makes a special reference to Samudra Gupta as the restorer of Asvamedha sacrifice.⁵ The Mankuwur stone image inscription of Kumara Gupta, however, refers to him only as a Maharaja, which was then a subordinate feudatory title, either by a mistake or because of the reduction of Kumara Gupta to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hunas. The Mandasor stone inscription also refers to Kumara Gupta as reigning over the whole earth.⁶

Skanda Gupta is called Maharajadhiraja in the Bihar stone inscription⁷ which repeats the usual ancestral references and exploits. The Bhitari stone pillar inscription refers to him as the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas,⁸ who by his conquests "subjugated the earth,"⁹ and repeats the ancestral exploits. The Junagadh rock inscription calls him Rajarajadhiraj,¹⁰ who "made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans,"¹¹ who "destroyed the height of the pride of

¹ L. 1 in both the inscriptions.

² L. 5.

³ L. 6.

⁴ L. 4.

⁵ L. 2— '....अश्वमेधाहर्तुः....'

⁶ 'पृथिवीं प्रशासति'.... L. 13.

⁷ L. 22.

⁸ L. 7— '....गुप्तवंशैकवीरः....'

⁹ L. 14—"....यो बाहुभ्यामवर्णीं विजित्य...."

¹⁰ L. 2. "....चतुरदधिजलान्तं स्फीत - पथ्यन्तदेशं अवनीमवनतारि-
र्यः...."

his enemies and appointed protectors in all the countries;¹ who is the banner of his lineage, *the lord of the whole earth*; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings,"² etc. The Kahaum stone pillar inscription refers to him as the lord of a hundred kings, "whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of those hundred kings."³ The Indor copper-plate inscription of Skanda Gupta applies to him the titles Paramabhattacharaka and Maharajadhiraja, and speaks of his "augmenting victorious reign."⁴

The Meherauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra refers to him as having attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world and "the breezes of his prowess by which the southern ocean is even still perfumed," who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vahlikas.⁵

The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yasodhar-

¹ L. 6 "....एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां भग्नाग्रदर्पान् द्विषतश्च कृत्वा सन्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तुन..."

² L. 24— 'दत्तारिदर्पणदः पृथुश्रियः - स्ववंशकेतोः - सकलावनी - पतेः—राजाधिराज्याद्भूत-पुण्यकर्मणः'

³ L. 1— 'यस्योपस्थानभूमिर्नृपतिशतशिरः पातवातावधूत.... '

L. 3— क्षितिपशतपतेः....'

⁴ L. 3— '....परमभट्टारक - महाराजाधिराज - श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्याभि - वर्द्धमाण - विजयराज्य....'

⁵ L. 2— 'तीर्त्वासप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जितावाहिकायस्याद्या-
प्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लैर्दक्षिणः । '

⁶ 5— '....ऐकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ.... । '

man describes him as a paramount sovereign holding sway over a large part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Mandhatri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Vishnuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rajadhiraja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII applies the epithets Paramabhattacharaka, Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara and Chakravartin to Dharsena IV and the first three epithets to Siladityadeva III, Siladityadeva IV, Siladityadeva V, Siladityadeva VI, and Siladityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattacharaka and Maharajadhiraja.

The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivita Gupta II uses the paramount titles Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Vishnuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harshavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattacharaka

¹ L. 3—'....स श्रेयो धान्नि सम्राडिति मनु-भरतालर्कमान्धातुकल्पे कल्याणे हेन्नि भस्वन् मणिरिव सुतरां आजते यत्र शब्दः ।'

² L. 6—'... प्राचो नृपान् सुबृहताश्च बहूनुदीचाः साम्ना युधा च वशगान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं राजाधिराज. परमेश्वर इत्युदूडम् ।'

and Maharajadhiraja to Prabhakaravardhana, Rajyavardhana II., and Harshavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudra Gupta discovered at Gaya repeats the paramount title Maharajadhiraja and the achievements of Samudra Gupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India contain references to titles of paramount sovereignty used by some successful kings. In the longest of the four inscriptions at Nasik of Gotamiputra¹ Satakarni and Pulumayi, Gotamiputra is spoken of as "king of kings," whose exploits rivalled those of Rama, Kesava, Arjuna, Bhimasena: whose prowess was equal to that of Nabhaga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rama and Ambarisha. The inscriptions of Pulakesi II. (A.D. 611-634) show his assumption of the imperial title Paramesvara, lord paramount. Both Dantidurga, the Rashtrakuta monarch who overthrew the Chalukyas, and his son Krishnaraja are spoken of in their copper-plate grants as having become paramount sovereigns. Their successor, Govinda III, is also made out by his Baroda copper-plate grant to have been a paramount king making and unmaking subordinate kings.

Some of the Bengal Pala kings also used paramount titles of sovereignty as shown by their inscriptions. Thus a Nalanda inscription refers to Gopala as Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara. Another of Buddha Gaya speaks of "Paramabhattaraka — Sriman Mahipala Deva." In a copper-plate

¹ *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, No. 26.

inscription at Monghyr Gopala is called "king of the world" and "likened unto Prithu, Sagara and others."¹

XXXI

Thus early Hindu history unmistakably shows that the political consciousness of the people had from very early times grasped the whole of India as a unit, and assimilated the entire area as the theatre of its activities. But the tide of life that was pulsating through India from end to end, unifying and integrating its parts and varieties into one mighty organism, came inevitably in course of time to overflow its original geographical limits and spread itself over other lands. Indeed, there can hardly be a more convincing proof of the reality and strength of Indian unity than the story of Indian colonising activity and the gradual development of a Greater India across the seas. This is not the proper place and occasion for the unfolding of that interesting history in all its details which is still one of the unilluminated chapters of Indian history, and I content myself with stating here only the general conclusions and facts that stand out clear and definite. India for centuries sent out streams of colonists and emigrants to countries in the Far East, including Pegu, Siam, and Cambodia on the mainland, and to Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 114, 120, 122. There are many other Pala and other inscriptions in which there is a reference to paramount sovereignty or mention of paramount titles. It is needless for our purposes to refer to them all.

among the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and "the reality of the debt due to India by those distant lands is attested abundantly by material remains, by the existence to this day of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions in the island of Bali to the east of Java, by Chinese history and by numerous traditions preserved in India, Pegu, Siam and the Archipelago."¹ This colonising activity resulted in the practical Indianisation of the countries touched by it—the transplantation, and in some cases reproduction, of Indian art institutions and even geographical names. It is well known that some of the triumphs and masterpieces of Indian Art exist outside India in those countries which came within her influence, while the ideas and institutions travelled with the spread of Buddhism, which in its Mahayanist form and development was accepted by Tibet, Nepal and China with the neighbouring countries, as also parts of Farther India and Java, and in its Hinayana form gained, besides the countries of Farther India and Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. This propagation of Indian thought and institutions was undoubtedly the work of countless colonists and missionaries, carried on through centuries, whose zeal must have been fed by a rich and stable national self-consciousness developed on a common soil and country. The colonising movement was (and always is) but the crest of a wave of popular enthusiasm for the country created and sustained by the realisation of its individuality and sacredness, a profound appreciation of all that it stands for, its ideals and institutions.

¹ V. A. Smith's *A History of Fine Art, etc.*, p. 259.

XXXII

We have now seen how in the past both religion and political experience contributed to the growth of a geographical sense in the people and to the perception of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety. The whole of the country was thus easily and naturally grasped by the national thought as a geographical unit whose strength and fervour triumphed over the physical difficulties of pre-mechanical ages in the way of having an intimate knowledge of the different parts which were welded into a whole. It was in a real sense the conquest of matter by mind; the subjection of the physical to the spiritual. India as a whole was realised as the mighty motherland by the popular mind in every part of India in spite of an unfavouring natural environment.

In modern times, the age of the improvement of transport, when the whole world has, so to say, been made smaller in size and is being centralised by railways, telegraphs and electrical machinery, when the ocean itself has been converted from a barrier into a broad highway of international intercourse, we can more easily and naturally realise the geographical unity of the whole of India. And besides, is not this unity apparent on the map? That country is geographically one of which the barriers separating its parts are less obstructive than those which isolate the area as a whole from surrounding regions. It is quite evident, and he who runs may read it, that India pre-eminently satisfies this test of unity. The great barrier of the north formed by the Himalayas, which may be easily rendered impregnable, effectually

isolates the country from the rest of Asia, giving protection to it along a frontier of 2,000 miles, while towards the south the advantages of an insular position are secured by the sea. Thus sea-girt and mountain-guarded India is indisputably a geographical unit.

As regards any insurmountable internal barriers, we hardly come across one. The Himalayas overlook the great plain, the Indo-Gangetic depression which covers an area larger than France, Germany and Austria put together, and supports more than one-half of the total population of India. This is the region of which Sir Richard Strachey has said: "It is no exaggeration to say that it is possible to go from the Bay of Bengal up the Ganges through the Punjab and down the Indus again to the sea over a distance of 2,000 miles and more without finding a pebble, however small." The whole region is of one uniform level, one continuous stretch of land uninterrupted by any barrier, covered with a network of rivers, railways and canals, where one sees only "unbroken continents of wheat, millet and Indian corn, endless seas of rice and limitless prairies of sugar-cane and indigo," an evidence of agricultural wealth oppressive almost in its monotony. Nor is the Vindhya or Satpura range any serious barrier obstructing communication between northern and southern India. Scarcely rising more than 4,000 feet above sea-level, both the ranges are now pierced by road and railway, and did not even in the earlier ages seriously interfere with the spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation, the diffusion of Hindu culture and learning to the parts of India lying to their south which

are, equally with the north, the great stronghold of Hinduism.

Lastly, among other natural features which distinguish India from other countries may be mentioned the seasonal winds or monsoons which have stamped on the whole country a unique aspect. They have created those hydrographical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of agriculture and one of the best-watered regions of the world. The census reports show that about 73 per cent. of the total population of India is dependent on agriculture for livelihood. While it may also be ascertained from statistics that, out of a total of 226 million acres annually sown in old British India, only 44 million acres lacked the natural water-supply and had to be artificially irrigated by the contrivances of man. So that fully 80 per cent. of the total area sown was naturally irrigated by the rivers of India pouring down in their bounty the streams of plenty. There also stands out, as the result of the operation of physical causes, the broad fundamental and distinguishing fact that Indian civilisation has developed and rests mainly on a rice-basis and the national diet is practically vegetarian.

XXXIII

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical conditions and historic experience, by her religious ideas and political ideas, to realise herself as a unit, to perceive, preserve and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture-history of the world.

Indian thought occupies a distinct place in the evolution of human thought; Indian life has its distinctive part to play in the history of humanity. Human culture would be incomplete and poor without its Indian contribution. The world is in need of India, a living, rejuvenated India—of the strength of her message, her cult, her faith. For what does India represent? "Not Universal Empire of the type attempted by the Eternal City, not Universal Spiritual Dominion like the Mother of all the Churches." India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire,¹ a Nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (*Ahimsa*, अहिंसा), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature; a fabric that was alas! ruthlessly shattered by the shock and collision of historic forces. For the Prime Maker of all history has perhaps ordained that the world should pass through the process of a painful historic development from the brute to the man.

Standing alone now in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions, India calls us to the Cult of the Spirit, calls the mighty nations of the earth to lay down their pride and hate, their sceptres and swords, and, with redemptive humility, love and sacrifice, to fight in union the forces of rebarbarisation that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. It is in that Indian Cult of the Spirit that Nations, like Individuals, will find their rest and

¹ *E.g.*, the famous edicts of Asoka fully set forth the principles of *Ahimsa* and wide catholicity on which his great Empire was governed.

peace and realise the democratic dreams of a World Federation or a Parliament of Man.¹

¹ This section is adapted from Dr. Brajendranath Seal's address to the First Universal Races Congress, London.

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